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FOUR MONTHS IN ALGERIA:

WITH

A VISIT TO CARTHAGE.

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BY THE

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WITH MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS AFTER PHOTOGRAPHS.

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NOTICE.

THE volume here offered to the Public contains some account of a very curious country, which notwithstanding its ready accessibility is little known in England. The author was compelled, at a short notice, to seek refuge from the inclemency of an English winter and spring; and while profiting by the genial climate of North Africa, endeavoured to turn his banishment from England to such account as was possible for a convalescent. Much remains unnoticed to reward the curiosity of an ordinary traveller at the cost of very little hardship or danger.

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ALGERIA.
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
PART OF SPAIN
TARRAGONA

FOUR MONTHS IN ALGERIA.

CHAPTER I.

The communication between the two continents of Europe and Africa is at the present time as easy and as regular as that between England and Belgium was twenty years ago. Twice a week; on Tuesdays and Saturdays, excellent steamers belonging to the Messageries Impériales leave Marseilles for Algiers. Besides these, a steamer belonging to a private French company leaves each port every Thursday. These latter vessels are not quite so speedy as the packet-boats, as they are built to carry merchandise, and consequently they enjoy less popularity with the travelling public. In one of them, however, I embarked on the 31st of December, 1857. The sky was clear, and the sea like a mill-pond; a balmy breeze, such as one is favoured with on a fine early September day in England, blew gently from the

south-west, and the barometers predicted the continuance of calm weather. Under such circumstances, no one who has ever experienced sea-sickness will hesitate to choose a *bâtiment de commerce* just about to put to sea in preference to the prospect of a mail steamer forty-eight hours later. At one o'clock the *Kabyle* passed the Marseilles lighthouse, carrying twelve or fourteen deck and second cabin passengers, but only myself in the chief cabin. I was well content to accept the dulness of my solitary state in consideration of the comfort incident to being the sole candidate for a berth, although the fineness of the weather rendered the advantages of the position less conspicuous than might have been the case. The accommodation was in every respect quite as good as that on board the mail-boats, and the captain, an intelligent, courteous, and apparently skilful seaman, made our *tête-à-tête* dinners and breakfasts as pleasant as could be desired, and furnished me with several pieces of information which I found very useful when I first landed in Africa.

While watching the receding shore of Europe with that interest which exile, although only for a few months, invariably inspires, I was surprised by a phenomenon which at the instant appeared very strange, although a few minutes' reflection dispelled all astonishment. As the hills surrounding Marseilles disappeared, they were succeeded by what seemed to

be high cliffs coming down to the water's edge. We were at the time some five and thirty miles from the land, and the appearance was not unlike that of the English cliffs when one is six or seven miles out at sea. I thought at first there must be some optical delusion, but on taking the bearings carefully, and referring to the map, the mystery was explained. The "cliffs" were the high Alpine summits, covered with their eternal snows, distant from the deck of the steamer more than one hundred miles. From my point of view, the whole space really intervening between the sea horizon and these summits had vanished away, and they themselves appeared thrown forward, as it seemed, quite near. They continued, especially two of them, growing higher and higher, slightly illuminated, half an hour after the upper edge of the sun had sunk in the sea, and it was not till five o'clock that they altogether disappeared. Had the steamer left Marseilles an hour earlier, they would no doubt have been visible at even a greater distance. At nine o'clock on new year's morning we sighted Minorca, and during the day were passing through the channel which separates that island from Majorca. While about two leagues off the former, we were met by the packet from Algiers, the first vessel we had seen since quitting the shores of France, as the ordinary course of ships proceeding up or down the Mediterranean lies to the south of the Balearic islands.

At sunset we lost sight of Majorca, being then about one hundred and fifty miles from Algiers, in the harbour of which we dropped our anchor at nine o'clock, on the 2d of January, after a prosperous voyage of forty-four hours.

The town of Algiers, on approaching it from the north, looks at a distance as if it stood on a kind of platform let down from a high range of hills behind. This apparent peninsula is the Sahel, a mountainous boss, which immediately backs the town, and the high range behind is the Northern or Lesser Atlas, as it is commonly although not very properly called. Between the Sahel and the Atlas is an extensive plain, the Metidja, the concealment of which from the eye of a spectator approaching the land causes the optical deception just noticed. I had heard a great deal of the beauty of the *coup d'œil*, and was a little disappointed at not recognising at once the truth of the Arab comparison of Algiers to a diamond set in a frame of emerald. But that idea, as I afterwards found, was suggested by the distant view of the town from the east, when the dazzling white of the houses, all massed together, contrasts strikingly with the luxuriant vegetation of early spring. Neither the direction in which I had approached, nor the season of the year, allowed the production of this effect. The houses in the immediate neighbourhood of the sea are all built by the French in the style

of architecture to which they are accustomed, with large windows opening on the street, and green blinds outside, as different as possible from the white-washed wall, pierced with one or two loopholes, which characterises the external appearance of the Moorish dwellings. The aspect of the hills around seemed very little different from the opposite shore of the Mediterranean; but they were studded with white specks of villages and country houses as far as the eye could reach, and, not being aware that many of these were ruins, I concluded that I was about to enter a thickly peopled and prosperous country. A number of boats, each with a barefooted Moor in it, surrounded the steamer; and as soon as the official of the Sanitary Board, whose visits are not dispensed with in any case, had pronounced a favourable verdict, I was conveyed in one to the neighbourhood of the Porte de la Marine, and landed on the quay amid a crowd which seemed, both to eye and ear, composed of every nation under heaven. Half-naked negroes from Biskra, and swarthy Arabs from the more immediate neighbourhood, contended with figures in European costume, but of no lighter complexion, for the honour of carrying my portmanteau, and urged their respective claims in Arabic, Spanish, Italian, Provençal, and English. A single Frenchman appeared,—the *commissionaire* of the hotel to which I was bound. Making myself over to the

disposal of this functionary, and freighting two Maltese with my baggage, I mounted the ascent which, no long time back, had been trodden by thousands of Christian captives; assured the Custom-house officer at the top that I was importing no eggs, poultry, bread, fruit, or other article subject to *octroi;* and after a walk of about five minutes under arcades something like those of the streets in Bern, emerged upon a handsome *place,* on the opposite side of which I recognised the Hotel d'Orient. This had attracted my attention from the deck of the *Kabyle* by its obviously good situation and its name blazoned in letters of two feet long upon the cornice of its façade. I found, however, that the "hotel" only commenced with the third story of the edifice, that there were no bedrooms lower than the fourth, and that on this all were occupied; and I was obliged to content myself with a small chamber and dressing-room on the fifth floor, which, in fact, consisted of a few apartments built above the original roof of the house. In three or four days, however, the departure of some guests placed a good-sized room on the floor below at my disposal, and in it I found myself sufficiently comfortable to remain for two months.

The paucity of good hotel accommodation is a serious drawback to Algiers as a residence for invalids, especially where the lungs are supposed to be affected. The Hotel d'Orient is in the best situation, and the

rooms are airy and with an excellent aspect. Mine looked to the East, across the bay, upon Cape Matifou. Beyond this appeared the point of land behind which lay Dellys and the hills of the Great Kabylie, among which rose one or two peaks of Djerjera, the highest summits of the Northern Atlas, covered with eternal snow. In front was the harbour of Algiers, and just to the left the rock, once an island and now connected with the main by a causeway of stone, on which the lighthouse stands. Immediately below I looked down on the Place Royale, an irregular shaped esplanade, of which the side towards the sea, closed only by a dwarf balustrade, serves as the rendezvous of the trading community, as well as the promenade of the fashionables of Algiers. Here a new comer finds an ample fund of amusement for the trouble of only looking out of his window. Arabs in their white bournouses, Jews in their bagging knee-breeches and blue-black turbans, Moorish women enveloped in white veils and white trowsers, leaving no part of their persons visible but the eyes and the stockingless feet, are mixed up in a dense throng with cloaked Spaniards, Zouaves, French officers, and ladies in the newest Parisian costume. A military band plays in the Place two or three days in the week, and troops are often paraded there. But these attractions are soon more than compensated by the fatigue of having to mount so high, which in

some cases of ailment would be impossible. But in this respect the Hôtel de la Régence and the Maison Garnie, over the Café d'Apollon, which alone are equal to the Hotel d'Orient in situation, are no better. The Hotel de Paris is well managed and the charges reasonable; but there is not an apartment in it from which a view of the sea can be obtained. It is, however, less lofty than the others. A new house, the Hotel de l'Europe, is clean, and for a decided invalid is perhaps the most to be recommended; but the charges are very high, and the situation inconvenient. An Englishman of the name of Thurgar has likewise established a boarding-house about a mile out of the town. Nowhere, however, as far as I could learn, would an invalid find the comforts that await him in the towns of Southern Europe which are resorted to for the sake of their climate. The best course for such a one would be to bring with him one or two confidential servants, and to hire a furnished house in the neighbourhood. Apartments are rare, but they also are to be had occasionally in good situations. I would recommend any Englishman in want of them to state his need to M. Lary, a *pâtissier* in the Rue Bab-Azoun, whose skill in his art is only surpassed by his civility and attention to his customers, and from whom they will gain information of any rooms likely to be vacant. The porter at the Hotel de la Régence likewise keeps

a list of lodgings to be let, and so do some of the shopkeepers in the town; but a good deal of caution is requisite before engaging anything, especially if the hirer has a lady in his party.

There is usually a great deal of rain at Algiers during the months of November, December, January, and February; in the present year the two latter months followed the ordinary rule. In January there were sixteen, and in February seventeen days upon which rain fell. But of these there were very few in which it was not possible to take exercise out of doors for a considerable time. A storm generally gives some notice of its approach if the barometer is consulted. I never found the aneroid which I used—one constructed by Lerebour and Secretan of Paris—fail to give me warning, although it did once or twice raise a false alarm. It was my habit to observe it, and the dry and wet bulbs of a psychrometric thermometer by the same manufacturers, four times a day, at 8 A.M. and 2, 6, and 11 P.M.; and I soon became enough of a weather-prophet to take long walks and rides in the neighbourhood without ever getting more than one wetting,—which after all I should have escaped had I not unfortunately had a sluggish horse, and forgotten to put on spurs on leaving home. There is very little of the drizzling wet weather to which we are accustomed in England. The rain, when it falls at all, falls in pailfuls, ploughing deep furrows

in the soft friable stone of the steep hills which surround Algiers, and washing away the unmetalled roads which wind up them. On a level, the immediate result is the production of a deep soft mud, in which one sinks above the ankles. But a very few hours of sun dry up the soil, and a day or two converts the mud to dust. Between the periods of storm rains, too, there is generally an interval of two or three days of quite settled weather; and during these, excursions may be made to a distance of thirty or thirty-five miles even by a valetudinarian. Before the end of February I had crossed the Metidja in four different directions, and had traversed on foot or on horseback every portion of the Sahel,—the hilly country of the Littoral, which separates the Metidja from the sea. The temperature of the atmosphere was that of an English May or June. On most days I could sit writing or reading in my room with the window open without feeling in the least chilly, although there was no carpet, and nothing to keep my feet from the stuccoed floor but a small mat made of the halfa-grass. The greatest observed height of the thermometer in my apartment during the month of January was 62° Fahrenheit, the lowest 54°, and the greatest variation in any one day only 7°. This occurred on the 5th of the month; and on no other day did the variation amount to 5°. In February the greatest observed height was 66°, the lowest 56°, and

the maximum variation in any one day less than $3\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$. The most generally prevailing wind was that from the north-west, which is invariably mild and refreshing as regards its temperature, although sometimes too violent for a decided invalid. The only days which I found formidable were those in which the wind blew from a southern quarter, after much moisture had been precipitated. This, which had descended on the Sahel in the form of rain, fell on the high plateaux of the Atlas in that of snow, and the blast from the south passing over the latter struck most piercingly whenever an ascent of the Sahel brought one within its range. The greatest peril which an invalid has to encounter during an Algerian winter undoubtedly arises from this cause. The snow on the high plains does not melt in general till the month of March; and while it remains, it is extremely inexpedient for him to remove from the shelter which the Sahel affords, unless he sees a good steady breeze setting from the northwards. As the hills come close down to the sea, there is on fine days a constant temptation to be imprudent in this respect; and the better the health of the patient, the more does he repine at being confined in taking his exercise to a single road, which is in fact all that is compatible with safety under such circumstances. Indeed my own experience would lead me to prefer Oran, the chief town of the western province, to Algiers, as a domicile for the winter.

Much less rain falls there; and the plateaux inland are not only considerably lower than in the meridian of Algiers, but further removed from the coast. The pedestrian can get away from the town without the exertion of climbing a steep ascent of seven or eight hundred feet; and although the surrounding country is inferior in beauty to the immediate neighbourhood of Algiers, it possesses perhaps greater interest for the botanist and geologist, and is particularly well adapted for horse-exercise.

CHAPTER II.

THE lower part of Algiers has been almost entirely rebuilt since the French occupation; and the introduction of European architecture has not been favourable to picturesque effect. The Place Royale may be considered as the centre of the modern town. Two streets, the Rue Bab-el-Oued (Water Gate) and the Rue Bab-Azoun (Gate of Grief), lead out of it, the former in a northerly the latter in a southerly direction, to the site of the gates from which they took their names. They are composed of houses four or five stories in height, built over arcades. This is the case also with the Rue de la Marine, by which all travellers arriving by sea are obliged to pass. In some few instances the Moorish buildings have been retained in this locality, but in most cases their entire destruction was requisite in order to carry out the line of street according to the French notions of architectural propriety; and those which were suffered to remain have been more or less altered. The great mosque (Djemmâa Kebir) which stands in the Rue de la

Marine, has in front of it a colonnade taken from another mosque which was destroyed in forming the Place Royale. But the direction of the street compelled the adoption of a broken line in setting it up again, and the effect is extremely painful to the eye. An incidental result of making these new streets was to lay bare the foundations of the old Roman town, Icosium, on the site of which modern Algiers is built; and to show how, in ages far remote from one another, similar conditions almost always produce similar arrangements. A Roman street led up from the port as the Rue de la Marine does at the present time, and, compelled by the obstacle offered by the hill, divided itself into two branches corresponding very nearly with the new streets, and like them terminating at the Bab-el-Oued and Bab-Azoun. This last circumstance was proved by the discovery of a Roman cemetery in each place; and as it is well known that the ancients never buried their dead inside the walls, we have in the facts distinct evidence of the limit beyond which the ancient town did not extend. The road which coincided with the Rue Bab-el-Oued led to a station called Casæ Calventii, placed by the Itinerary of Antoninus thirty-two Roman miles off, and supposed by Algerian antiquaries to have occupied the site of Fouka, near Koleah. It passed from thence to Tipasa, and Julia Cæsarea, the modern Cherchel. The other, following the course of the

Rue Bab-Azoun, led first to Rusgunia, near Cape Matifou, and from thence passed through Kabylie at no great distance from the coast, which it probably struck at all points where the nature of the shore allowed the formation of a marine town, and finally terminated at Carthage. Icosium could never have been a place of any magnitude; for before the building of the causeway which now connects the mainland with the original Algiers, the *island* on which the lighthouse stands,* there could only be shelter for a few small vessels. What importance it possessed it probably owed to its position on the commercial road which traversed the north of Africa from Carthage to Tangier. An Arabian historian, who wrote in the eleventh century of the Christian era,† states that there were then magnificent remains, of a magnitude to suggest the belief that the place must have been the capital of an empire. He particularly specifies some porticoes and a theatre paved with mosaics representing figures of animals, and he mentions the wall of a large church, which, from its direction due east and west, was made use of by the Mahometans as a *keblah* (or means of orientation), when they performed their devotions. But besides the allowance

* *El Djézaïr* Beni-Mezarrhana. "*The islands* of the children of Mezarrhana." In the construction of the causeway, Khaireddeen Barbarossa is said to have made use of the materials of Rusgunia. The masses of stone were brought across the bay and sunk to form a breakwater against the effects of the north and north-west winds.

† *El Bekri*, quoted by BERBRUGGER, *Icosium*, p. 10.

to be made for the exaggeration of Oriental writers, it must not be forgotten that the ancients, when they had the funds, set no bounds to their expenditure on public buildings. Icosium was a colony with the Latin franchise, fixed in the midst of a Berber population, and doubtless endowed with lands which had been taken from these, and which they continued to cultivate as villeins. On the destruction of Roman civilisation, they naturally recovered possession; and it is probably their union with the Arab invaders that has given a peculiar character to the idiom spoken in Algiers and the immediate neighbourhood,—which, both in pronunciation and vocabulary, differs much from the Arabic of the country only a few miles off. The remains of the Roman town, whatever their extent eight hundred years ago, have since that time disappeared. Excavations occasionally bring to light a mosaic pavement, a stone chair, a hand-mill, or the fragment of a statue; and cut stones, obviously removed from their original position, are frequently seen in the foundations of Moorish buildings; but the only monument which seems to be remaining *in situ* is a bas-relief over a gateway in the island, in a style indicating a very late period of art.

The greater portion of the Moorish town is contained within the triangular area, which, rising from a base formed by the streets of Bab-el-Oued and Bab-Azoun, leans upon the steep hill immediately

in face of the sea, the vertex of the triangle being formed by the Kazbah, or citadel, which stands at a height of nearly four hundred feet. The whole of this space lies within the Moorish walls, which still remain on the two upper sides of the triangle. One of them, that to the south-east, is still pierced by an ancient gateway; but the Water Gate and the Gate of Grief no longer remain. The latter received its name from the circumstance of offenders condemned to capital punishment being executed by throwing them on iron hooks which protruded from the walls by its side; and when the French marched into Algiers, they found rotting on the top the heads of the unfortunate crews of two brigs of war, which had formed part of their blockading squadron and been driven ashore in a storm. The gate itself was then cleared away, together with the Moorish buildings in the vicinity, and beyond it a new Fauxbourg has been since built, composed entirely of European houses. In this a handsome corn-market has been erected for the use of the agricultural tribes of the neighbourhood, who bring their produce thither; and strangers, whose time is limited, will see much in a small space by visiting it at an early hour in the morning, as well as a caravanserai which is immediately opposite. In the latter they will find a picturesque assemblage of camels, mules, and asses, laden with all kinds of produce, and natives of every variety of complexion, most

of them sleeping, a few smoking, and some calling in the aid of the native smith to repair the shoes of their animals. The form of these, as well as of the implements which are used, has, no doubt, remained the same for centuries; and it is very curious to watch the way in which the operator manages his fire so as to consume as little fuel—generally the root of the dwarf palm—as is possible in effecting his task.

Several streets rise from the level of the Rue Bab-el-Oued and Rue Bab-Azoun, converging more and more as they ascend the hill, until they meet in the immediate vicinity of the Kazbah. The steepness of the ascent would prevent the use of a carriage in these, even if they were wide enough to admit one; but, in point of fact, there is not one broader than the Rows of Yarmouth, and most are even narrower. The principal one, which bears the name of the Street of the Kazbah, is cut in steps. Lateral alleys here and there connect these main lines with one another; but the whole forms a labyrinth, out of which it is impossible for the puzzled European to find his way, except by remembering that if he mounts he will be sure in time to arrive at the citadel, and if he descends, no less certain ultimately to reach the sea. I do not believe that one person in a hundred, if conducted to the highest part of the town and then left to himself, would succeed in returning by the same

course by which he had come. The sides of the streets are in general simply dead walls, with here and there a loop-hole above and a closed door below, the houses exhibiting no more individuality than the sheep of a flock. At the height of the first story, wooden corbels are sometimes seen supporting a second one, likewise with its dead wall, which approaches even nearer than the floor below to the opposite tenement. Sometimes, especially in the cross alleys, the houses actually meet at the top, and the street becomes a mere arch. As you toil along it for the first time, not without some feeling of uneasiness at observing yourself the only European among a crowd of strange figures, of whose language you do not understand a word, you perhaps meet a troop of asses loaded with baskets of sand, and followed by a half-naked savage, whose looks do him injustice if he would feel any scruple in felling you with the cudgel he is employing upon the wretched brutes from whose frantic rush you despair of escaping. Of course you conclude that you have taken a wrong turn, and got into a very disagreeable neighbourhood. But this is altogether an error. There is, perhaps, a door standing open in the invariable dead wall. Look in, and you will see a charming court, surrounded by an arcade of marble columns. In the middle is a fountain, or perhaps some beautiful tree, such as in England we only find in the hot-house of a millionaire.

Passing under the arcade on a tesselated floor, you find a staircase, of which both the stairs and walls are covered with encaustic tiles, and which conducts to an open gallery, likewise running round the court. From this you may enter the chambers of the mansion, not by opening a door, but by simply withdrawing a curtain which masks the approach to each; and in these you will see both the extent to which Oriental luxury can be carried, and the taste with which it adapts itself to the conditions of the climate. The floors are invariably of stucco or encaustic tiles: round the walls, which are painted in arabesques, run sofas covered with rich silk hangings and embroidered with gold. Elegantly carved tables stand here and there, covered with knick-knacks of native workmanship, such as gold or silver essence boxes, fans made of ostrich feathers, and ostrich eggs carved in devices or suspended in a network of twisted gold and silk thread. The main light comes through the door by which you have entered from the open gallery; sometimes there is no other whatever; but when there is it proceeds from a narrow slit culminating in an ogee arch, and filled with elaborate stone tracery, through which a single sunbeam finds its way in a fragmentary state. These windows are made like the embrasures in a fortification, and contracted on the outer face of the wall to the simple loopholes which strike the eye of a stranger. There

is no glass in them. On the stuccoed floor, there are one or two small carpets, and perhaps a lion's or panther's skin with the teeth and nails gilt. In the palmy days of Algerine piracy, both the town and the neighbourhood were full of mansions furnished in this style, and in the case of the latter surrounded with delicious gardens. But the universal ruin of the Moorish population, which followed the French conquest, has to a great extent obliterated the traces of the former magnificence. The country villas were at first wantonly destroyed by the conquerors, and the town houses subsequently stripped by their owners of everything valuable which could be carried away. In some instances the beautiful courts with their marble columns are occupied by the stores of an European shopkeeper; in others the tenant has cut oblong holes in the outer walls and put sashes into them, and scarcely in any has there been attention paid to keeping up the ornamental repairs. Still, in a few houses, the visitor may yet gain an idea of what a Moorish interior must have been under the old régime. The house of the bishop, which before the invasion of the French was the palace of the Agha or War Minister, is, perhaps, the finest specimen in existence. On a smaller scale, but still very elegant and characteristic, is the house of the English consul, Mr. Bell. The supreme court of justice is also held in a genuine Moorish house, although modernized by covering the

open court with a roof of glass. The public library and museum furnishes yet another example of the kind; and this last and the house of the consul are the more striking, as the approach to them is through streets of the most unprepossessing character, and least likely to inspire an expectation of the beauty of the interiors.

The Kazbah is rather a fortified palace than a citadel in the proper sense of the word. It is completely commanded by a hill in the immediate neighbourhood, on which formerly stood a fortification, called the Fort of the Tagarins; while this in its turn is dominated by the Fort of the Emperor, so called from its being the point selected by Charles V. of Spain as the base of his operations when he laid siege to Algiers. But it promised perfect security to the Deys against their own tumultuous soldiery; and shortly after the bombardment of the town by Lord Exmouth, the seat of government was transported thither in a single night by Megheur Ali, the successor of Omar, under whom the bombardment had been inflicted, and who was strangled by his own subjects the next year. The Djenina, the ancient palace, stood in the Place Royale, overlooking the sea, and the existing clock-tower occupies the site of a part of the terrace which belonged to it. The circuit of the Kazbah, as may be supposed, included everything which was necessary to the completeness of Turkish

life—among the rest a handsome mosque, which is now used as an artillery barrack. The remainder is appropriated to other military purposes; and the work of destruction and alteration has been carried to such an extent as to make it difficult to comprehend the connexion which formerly existed between such portions as are still left.

It happened by a singular fatality that, through the neglect of the chief of the staff, this alone, of all the buildings in Algiers, was shamefully plundered immediately after the occupation of the town. The mischief began by some persons taking mere trifles by way of *souvenirs*, but their example was quickly followed by others whose rapacity changed the system of petty thieving into downright pillage. A great deal was said at the time on the subject, and grave charges of enormous peculation made against General Bourmont himself. But as regards the treasure which was laid up there, the charge of malversation appears to be without foundation; and there is no reason to doubt that the whole found its way to the treasury of the French government.

There are several mosques in Algiers still appropriated to the use of the Moorish population, but some have been converted into Christian churches. I could not learn whether the cathedral was or was not one of these, but it has every appearance of being so. The so-called New Mosque (Djemmâa Djedid) stands

at the corner of the Place Royale and Rue de la Marine, and is being restored at the expense of the Government. There is a tradition that it was built by a Christian slave, who had been an architect. When it was finished, some one called the attention of the Dey to the fact that the ground plan was of the form of a cross; and the unfortunate artist expiated by death what was regarded as an intentional insult to the faith of Islam. When the French first acquired possession of the town, they strictly prohibited all Christians from attempting to enter a mosque, but now no objection is made either by the conquerors or the conquered. The raw is not healed, but the poor jade is too much exhausted to wince when wrung. There is, however, little gratification for curiosity to be obtained by shocking the religious prejudices of the population. A mosque is uniformly like a church of several aisles, stripped of its pews and everything else except its pulpit. At one end is a kind of niche (*mihrab*), which is intended to indicate the direction of Mecca, towards which the faithful should turn while repeating their prayers, and by the side of this the seat of the sheikh, whose duty it is to read the lessons from the Koran and to preach occasionally. The floors are covered with mats or carpets, and before passing on to them the votary takes off his shoes. In a court of the mosque is a fountain for the requisite ablutions before commencing religious

worship. The walls of the interior are in most cases painted, and decorated all over with verses of the Koran; candles are burnt by the side of the *mihrab*, and lighted lamps hung from the arches of the roof. Occasionally there is a sort of vestry where instruction is given in the Koran, or one aisle of the mosque is appropriated to the purpose; and to almost all mosques of importance a small room is attached serving for a law-court, where the ordinary questions of litigation between Mussulmans are decided on the basis of the Koran. It is rather amusing to witness the proceedings of the court. Women are not allowed to enter it, but when their evidence is required they give it through a small window of a few inches square which opens into an adjoining apartment. Those which I heard were very voluble and far more vehement than the male witnesses; and in one or two instances were obviously snubbed by the Kadi for wandering from the point at issue, but with as little effect as is generally produced by a similar proceeding upon an Irish woman at Bow Street.

Besides the mosques, there are several marabouts in Algiers and the neighbourhood. The word in its original application denotes a saint, but is also employed to signify the burial-place of such a one, to which a sacred character is always considered to attach. There is no form of consecration used by the Mahometans either for their places of sepulture or

religious worship; but no nation in the world is more strongly affected by that natural instinct which regards with peculiar interest localities connected with remarkable personages. Clement of Alexandria indulges in a scornful invective against the pagan religions of his time, on the ground that their temples were in almost all cases built over the tombs of dead men;* but St. Augustine, only two centuries afterwards, has inserted in the greatest of his works the details of several miraculous cures he supposes to have been effected by attendance on a Christian temple after its sanctification by a portion of the relics of the protomartyr Stephen.† The marabout of North Africa is a very different kind of character from the dancing dervish of the East. He is a man of piety and learning, according to the Mahometan standard, who devotes himself to works of religion and benevolence. Many marabouts have been possessed of large fortunes, which they employed in the relief of the poor, or in works of public utility, especially sinking wells,—a kind of public service which is always appreciated in hot countries. Chastity—or at least the absence of any disposition to sensuality,—self-sacrifice, and, above all things, the freedom from any tendency to avarice, are essentials in the character of a marabout. If to these qualities be added a punctual performance of all the enjoined religious exercises, and a thorough

* *Protrept.* p. 28. Sylburg. † *De civit. Dei.* xxii. 11.

acquaintance with the theological literature of Islam, he rises still higher in the estimation of his countrymen; and if he possesses, over and above, an aptitude for influencing others by oratory, there is scarcely any limit to the power he may obtain. The father of Abd-el-Kader was a marabout; and as there is always in the mind of men a sort of presumption that high qualities are to some extent hereditary, this circumstance was extremely favourable to the son in the early part of his career.

The whole of Algeria is covered with the tombs of these saints, which generally form the nucleus of a general cemetery. Large sums are paid for the privilege of interment in the immediate neighbourhood of the holy man; and sometimes some other marabout of not inferior reputation to the first is by his own desire buried near him.* Occasionally legends are related by the *oukil* (or keeper of the marabout) connecting the tenants of the neighbouring graves with one another; and in all cases there is a history of the saint who first caused a sacred character to be attached to the locality. A collection of these traditions would be a complete parallel to the hagiology of the mediæval church, and in many instances would even be identical with it.

* As the old prophet of Bethel ordered that his sons should bury him by the side of the man of God whose death he had occasioned.

The reason of this is obvious enough. In both the one case and the other the historical details are little more than the features which the imagination of the narrator has given to a story, the primary object of which is to illustrate the ideal which has been formed of the character of its hero; and as the legend is repeated year after year, the original materials are continually moulded more and more into a shape suitable for this purpose; until at last the result, if tested by common rules of evidence, shocks all common sense. These traditional tales are no more "lying legends" than they are facts. They may be more fitly described as religious romances than anything else; and their function was—making allowance for the difference of creed, and the different modes of communicating knowledge—very much the same as that performed by religious tracts in the present day. But the ideal of humanity in the Middle Ages was by no means unlike that which prevails among the votaries of Islam. The bold warrior, without fear and without reproach, dedicating his life to the propagation of his religious faith by means of his good sword, and the bare-footed monk, as superior to the temptations of the world as his military brother to its terrors, are precisely the kind of characters which a Mahometan can best understand, and with which he will most sympathise. Strong faith (whatever its form), and boundless self-sacrifice (whatever its shape)

inspired by that faith, were the common possession of Richard Cœur de Lion and Saladin, of St. Louis and the people for whose conversion or extirpation his life was freely offered.

A natural consequence of the sacred character which attaches to these tombs is that a mosque very commonly is built close by, and funds are bequeathed for the purpose of maintaining religious worship therein. Sometimes a caravanserai is added for the accommodation of pilgrims who visit the tomb; and in one case, that of Sidi-Bou-Medine, a marabout of extraordinary estimation in the neighbourhood of Tlemçen, there is a small chamber in which devotees are accustomed to sleep in the hope of receiving supernatural communications during the hours of rest. The endowments of these chapelries, as they may be called, are sometimes very considerable, or rather were so before their confiscation by the French.* In

* This was effected by an arrêt, dated March 23d, 1843. The following balance-sheet of a small marabout (Wali-Dadah) in Algiers was made out in the year following the French occupation:—

RECEIPTS.

	PIASTRES.
Ana (rent charge) on the farm of Wali-Dadah, situated on the left bank of the Harash near the Maison Carrée . .	202·5
Do. on two warehouses in Algiers	37
Do. on a lot of land	12
Rent of three small houses	124·5
Do. of an entresol	15·5
Do. of a caravanserai	12
	403·5

some cases there is attached to them a school, in which gratuitous instruction is given to the children of the poor; and in one, at Constantine, there is a theological college of great celebrity, where I saw the professor, an old man of an intelligent countenance, giving a lecture on the Koran to pupils from all parts of the world. But in most instances the funds are not more than enough to provide for the sustentation of the fabric and the religious worship, and to furnish alms for the poor who frequent the latter. Everywhere throughout Algeria, one meets with marabouts deserted and in ruins. The impoverishment of the native population coming on the back of the confiscation of the permanent fund was no doubt the principal

EXPENDITURE.

	PIASTRES.
Payment to the Imaum	24·5
Do. Reader	18
Do. Preacher	24
Oil for lamps	96
Mats	12
Washing	30
Sundries	12
Balance	187
	403·5

The balance goes to the *Oukil*, or steward, who in this particular case was a Turkish official employed in the commissariat. But the oukil is generally obliged to keep a *Khodja*, or secretary, to make up his accounts, and in some cases a payment has to be made to Mecca or Medina. Provision for the poor worshippers would likewise have to be made; but in the balance-sheet, as a set off against such omissions, it may be remarked that only money payments are put down. There is no mention either of produce rents, or of the offerings of devotees at the shrine, both of which would in most instances be very large.

cause of this, although in some instances war has been the agent of destruction.

The marabout and mosque of Sidi Abd-er-Rahman are in a good state of preservation, and the European traveller will do well to visit them. But they are much frequented, especially on Fridays, by the Moorish ladies, and it would be a great breach of decorum to attempt to enter till they have taken their departure, as women lay aside their veils while performing their devotions, resuming them at the door as they leave the mosque. Their features, with the exception of the eyes, are extremely ugly: the straight coarse lips and heavy nose bespeak a lamentable want of intelligence or delicacy of feeling, and their voices, when they chatter to one another, are singularly harsh. When the congregation is gone, the marabout may be entered in the company of the *oukil*; but one is expected to take one's shoes off and leave them at the door. The tomb is covered with carpets, and lights are burning constantly upon it. Votive offerings, in the shape of shawls, flags, and decorated ostrich shells, are suspended about; the whole floor of the apartment is carpeted, and several cats are walking about upon it. The cat, perhaps from its cleanliness, is a favourite animal with the Moors, and some of the marabouts possess a fund specially appropriated for the maintenance of several. They have also inherited a superstition, many thousand years old, that animals haunt

sacred places; and take great pains on this account to attract the birds to their cemeteries, by strewing acorns about the tombs, and forming small holes in the tombstones to hold the rain-water, that they may be induced to come to drink.

From the cemetery adjoining the marabout of Sidi Abd-er-Rahman, one may easily descend into the garden of Marengo, or, as it was at first called, Jardin des Condamnés, from having been laid out by military convicts. This is a public promenade, and is much frequented by the European part of the population of Algiers whenever the military band plays there, which it does two or three times in the week; and also on Sundays at precisely the same hour as the afternoon service in the Cathedral. It is laid out in terraces after the manner of all French public gardens; only, where one would see limes and beeches in Europe, here are palms and cypresses. The most unequivocally southern production, however, is the prickly pear or Barbary fig, a huge cactus-like plant, with large flat oval leaves growing out of one another. It is not, I believe, indigenous, but, like the aloe, was brought from South America to Spain. It grows in North Africa to an enormous size, requires no trouble, and makes better hedges than the aloe. At one time it was believed that it might be used as food for the cochineal insect, but this expectation was frustrated. It is, however, extremely useful in many ways. After

the figs which grow round the leaf have been gathered, the leaf itself, in spite of the prickles with which it is covered, which deter every other animal, is a favourite food of the camel. The stalk is used for fuel. In order to make a hedge of this plant, all that is requisite is to scratch a row of small holes in the ground, and set a single leaf in each, and from them, without any further attention, a hedge is formed in four or five years which will keep out any animal but a camel. Old hedges, however, are a favourite harbour for scorpions, for whom they furnish an effectual cover.

In the Jardin de Marengo is a colossal bust of the first Emperor Napoleon; and it is to be wished that it were the only monument to his memory in the place. But not far from it is another which violates every dictate of good policy as much as it does every principle of artistic taste. On the top of a column is a half-globe, on the top of which is stuck an iron spear. On the east and west sides of the column are the names of the victories won by the great commander; on the north, those of the capitals which he had occupied by a victorious army; while on the south, an eagle, all beak and claws, hovers over a hat, of the peculiar kind which the Emperor used to wear, from which are suspended the insignia of the legion of honour. Under this delicate symbolism, which, as far as its execution is concerned, might have been carved by a stone-cutter's

apprentice, are the words, "Il avait révé cette conquête." Such is considered the most appropriate monument to set up to a man whose favourite saying was, "I shall go down to posterity with the Code in my hand," in a country where the conciliation of the native population is a necessary condition of converting a source of enormous expense into one of even moderate profit. It should be said, however, that this monument was not set up by the present dynasty, but by its predecessor, under the influence of a desire to make political capital out of old military associations which were imagined to be no longer dangerous. When I first saw this specimen of Gallic Algerian art, an aged Moor happened to be basking in the sun by its base, gazing with fixed eyes upon the sea. I fancied he might be recalling the piratical days of his youth, and pondering over the mystery of Providence which had given him and his into the hands of the infidels. He looked like an old Jew by the waters of Babylon, but with a grief too deep for anything but curses. No doubt the French, by acts of unflinching severity, have effectually cowed the native population for at least a generation; but they have as yet done but little to reconcile them to the yoke, and less to inspire a love for European civilisation such as they understand it.

I was exceedingly amused one night in the theatre by the proceedings of a young native chief of about twenty, who was brought there by a sort of Mentor,

an old Moor, apparently a French official, with a view of cultivating his taste. The subject of the play was one adapted to the display of that exaggerated sentiment and morbid sympathy which seems essential to the success of the modern French drama. A woman who has been privately married to an artist and borne him a son, stimulated by personal vanity, separates herself from him and goes on the stage, where she obtains a vast reputation, and finally marries an English nobleman. Various circumstances contribute to bring about an interview between her and her injured husband; and, of course, a great deal of passion is displayed. The young Arab, who had been terribly bored with the early part, here left off biting his nails and brightened up, in the expectation that corporal punishment was about to be inflicted on the peccant dame. He applauded with his whole soul: "*Ah! il va la battre. Bravo! Fais donc!*" But he was doomed to be disappointed. The lady, flung sternly from the arms of her indignant husband, did indeed fall flat on the stage: but no whip was brought, and although a little consoled for a time by the hopes of a duel which appeared looming in the distance shortly afterwards, young Juba left the house at last in utter disgust, exclaiming "Quelle bêtise!" I confess I rather felt with him, although I had not shared his expectations.

The acting at the Algiers theatre is extremely bad,

and the selection of pieces execrable. But there are two or three very fair singers; and when an opera is given, an agreeable evening's amusement may be had for a very small sum, the best places in the house only costing three francs. Every one walks thither, and walks home afterwards; there being so few parts of the town accessible to carriages, that pedestrianism is a necessity for many ladies, and is a fashion for all. Order is so well kept in the streets that not the slightest annoyance of any kind is to be apprehended. Except the theatre there is no kind of public amusement for the upper classes, beyond such as is furnished by the "Cercle," a club which comprises the chief military and civil functionaries, and to which strangers may be admitted by the recommendation of a member. There is a moderate library there, and a fair collection of French periodicals, besides billiard and card rooms, of which the French avail themselves from morning till night.

CHAPTER III.

The immediate neighbourhood of Algiers is unsurpassed in beauty by any part of North Africa. The mass of hills which backs it sends out a branch which runs nearly westward for nine or ten miles, having an elevation which varies from six hundred to more than a thousand feet. It terminates at Rous-el-Knathar (the Cape of the Ruins), and throughout its whole extent approaches very closely to the sea-shore, on which side its fall is so rapid, that to ascend is in most parts extremely difficult, and the space which is left for cultivation is sometimes very small. Just outside the Bab-el-Oued, omnibuses are constantly to be found, which will convey the traveller about three miles in this direction on a pretty fair road. He will pass through the village of St. Eugène, where are a few houses most romantically situated, commanding a sea-view something like that from the under-cliff in the Isle of Wight. It is rather a favourite quarter of the English who visit Algiers. The *route carrossable* goes about a mile

and a half beyond St. Eugène as far as Pointe Pescade, where there is a ruined Moorish fort, armed by a few cannon probably taken from Christian prizes in the days of piracy. They are all ship-guns, and are allowed to perish with rust on their rotting carriages, which in some cases have already given way. A part of the buildings which remain serves as a barrack for a few French soldiers, whose wives take in washing. The decaying bastion was employed as a drying-ground when I visited the place, from which an admirable view of Cape Matifou and the mountains of Kabylie may be obtained. Very soon after passing Pointe Pescade the road changes into a path which can only be traversed on foot or on a mule. I attempted it one day on a steady old Arab horse, and found it very difficult. The seaward slope of the hills is in some parts so very steep, and the soil altogether so friable, that a heavy fall of rain is sure to wash away the path in many places, and in others, where the track is not so close to the sea, to make a watercourse of it, and fill it with blocks of stone. On the faith, however, of a map which represented the path as rounding Cape Rous-el-Knathar, I persevered; but it cost me nearly three hours of very fatiguing riding to advance little more than six miles. At last I arrived at Rous-el-Knathar, and looked about for some ancient ruins which were said to exist in the neighbourhood.

But they are entirely level with the ground, and overgrown with dwarf palms and lentisque, the common brushwood of the country. I should not even have guessed the fact of their existence; but being in despair at the length of the journey, I made my way with much difficulty through the brushwood to a cottage, the inhabitant of which luckily proved to be a Frenchman,—almost all of the settlers along the coast are Spaniards,—and he told me that I was standing on the object of my search. My attention being thus directed to the matter, I did soon afterwards observe a stone with an almost obliterated Latin inscription on it; but this was so defaced, that I could not have decyphered it had I devoted twenty-four hours to the task, and the question now was how to get home, for there appeared some symptoms of an approaching storm. To return by the way I had come was very objectionable, but the path round the cape had thinned off into a mere sheep-track, and looked dangerous even for a pedestrian. I dismounted, and went some way along it to see if there was any sign of horses or mules having passed; but there was nothing of the kind. I then thought of gaining the crest of the mountain and descending on the other side, instead of turning the point; but the thickness of the brushwood stopped me before I had got fifty yards, and the horse, stumbling over the blocks of stone which lay

concealed beneath this overgrowth, had great difficulty in keeping his feet. There was nothing for it but to try the path, which the French colonist assured me continued so bad as it looked only for two or three hundred yards. My steed did not like the performance of the feat any more than myself. I had intended to drive him before me as the Swiss mountaineers do with their horses, holding them back by the tail in the very steep parts; but in this arrangement he was by no means disposed to acquiesce. No, the post of honour belonged to me; and if I wished to pass the headland at all, it was for me to lead. Without the least display of viciousness, he placed his fixed determination beyond the possibility of doubt, and at last we commenced our march, I leading with the bridle in my hand, and continually expecting to have him roll over upon me, and carry me with himself down the cliff. But happily we achieved our dangerous undertaking without accident, and after half a quarter of a mile were fairly on the other side of the cape, when the hill receded, and another mile over dunes of sand brought us to the village of Guyot-ville, from which a good road meets the main line from Algiers to Koleah.

Before the French invasion, the side of the hills below which the road to St. Eugène and its continuation passes, was studded with Moorish villas, of

which almost all are now in ruins. They are perched in the most romantic sites, which could only have been reached by mule tracks, and these are now very often effaced by the overgrowth of an African vegetation. The pedestrian who explores the neighbourhood of Algiers must not suppose that by following a path he will be sure or even likely to arrive either at a village or some well-frequented thoroughfare. In the majority of cases he will find that the track leads to some small clearance, or to a ruined villa, in one or two rooms of which a Spaniard has fixed his quarters, cultivating a small patch of the domain of the former owner, and letting his goats browse upon the brush which has grown over the rest. In some instances he will come upon a thicket of prickly pear, the representative of a formerly existing garden, of which this plant formed the fence. Very many paths, which twenty years ago were regular thoroughfares, have been stopped by the Spanish settlers. All that these want is communication between their own huts and Algiers, where they sell their produce; and the consequence is that they lend the little assistance which is required, in addition to the natural influences of the climate, to obliterate the track beyond their own settlement. By this means they keep solitary Arabs, who are much addicted to pilfering, away from their domiciles, the security of which is often increased by the pre-

sence of a large and ferocious mastiff, not tied up, and altogether indiscriminating in his antipathy to strangers. These savage dogs are the greatest nuisance in the whole of the Phaz, as the neighbourhood of Algiers is called, and really constitute the only danger which awaits the traveller in his rambles. You meet with them again among the nomad Arabs on the plateaux of the Atlas, but there their presence is more justifiable, and one is not attacked unawares. But in the Phaz, the traveller is never safe if he deviates from the high road. Without the least warning, one or two of the brutes rush upon him from some hut which he then perceives for the first time. They are its chief guardians, the owner being probably away tending his goats, or clearing a spot of ground of bush with a view to sowing it next year, and having left none but children at home. If you are on foot, you stoop and pick up a stone, or at least affect to do so, and retire, facing the enemy in an attitude of menace, as rapidly as prudence allows. If you are on horseback, the case is worse, unless you ride with a long hunting-whip, which the French officers, when travelling among the Arab tribes, often do. The dogs avoid your front and rear with the greatest sagacity, and charge the flank of the horse and the rider's legs.

Above the village of St. Eugène, one of the few Moorish villas which has escaped the destruction of

the war,* is used as a seminary for theological students, and a country residence of the Bishop of Algiers. The see has since its first constitution been filled by prelates of great zeal and intelligence, and the influence of the clergy has done much towards improving the character of the European part of the population. It is difficult to conceive a worse moral condition than that of Algeria for some years after the invasion. The first bishop, M. Dupuch, found on his arrival at Algiers, in 1839, two priests who performed the service in a mosque which had been converted into a church, and a few sisters of charity, who devoted themselves to teaching orphan children, as well as attendance in the hospitals. A small chapel at Oran, and another at Bona, with one priest at each, comprised the whole of the ecclesiastical establishment in the French possessions of North Africa.

Irrespectively of other less ostensible forms of immorality, the number of illegitimate births was, on the average of the six years from 1831 to 1836, no less than 244 in the 1000.† In seven years' time, the bishop, almost entirely at his own cost and that of his friends, had established forty-seven churches and chapels, and forty almonries of hospitals, prisons,

* At the time of the invasion it was the residence of the French consul.

† It was 72 in the 1000 for the whole of France.

penitentiaries, and other institutions, which employed thirty-nine regular and three supernumerary priests, besides a large number of sisters of charity. Several orphan asylums were set on foot by him, and also a house of Trappists at Staoueli, the result of which latter has been not only the successful cultivation of a large tract of land on the edge of the Metidja, but the collection of a series of important meteorological observations. In these efforts M. Dupuch not only spent all his private fortune, but involved himself in debt to the extent of £20,000. One of the first acts of the present Emperor of the French, as President of the Republic, was to set on foot a commission to inquire into this subject; and the result was, that the Government entered into an arrangement with the creditors for the discharge of obligations which were justly considered as a debt of the French nation. M. Pavy, the successor of M. Dupuch, carried on the work which the other had begun, with no less tact than vigour; and so far as French power is consolidated in Northern Africa, it is mainly due to the moral influence of the clergy. They operate upon the natives, not by formal attacks on their creed, but by those works of charity which are common to Christianity and Islam, and which, more than any other religious act, are appreciated by the votaries of the latter.

The hospitals especially, into which the Moslem population is freely admitted, and the service of which

is, in many cases, performed by females of one or other of the religious orders, exercise a powerful influence, and most deservedly so, over the conquered race. I visited one of these—the civil hospital at Oran—and was exceedingly struck with the appearance of cleanliness, order, comfort, and even cheerfulness, which reigned throughout. The calm demeanour of the sisters seemed to be felt like a sunbeam in the chambers of pain and death. There was no sourness of look, no parade of self-devotion, no expression of the least wish for anything but more ample space to enable them to receive all patients that offered. I talked of the unhealthiness of the summer season, when the wards would be full of fever-patients; but I could not elicit a word implying that they themselves would then be exposed to greater risk, or compelled to greater labour. The Apostle's exhortation to let works of mercy be done with cheerfulness came forcibly into my mind, when I thought of the conventional unction in which the philanthropists of London platforms are wont to indulge. This hospital at Oran was the only instance I saw in all Algeria of attention to sanitary precautions even in the minutest details. At Algiers, indeed, the arrangements of the military hospital are considered very good. It occupies the site of a country palace of the Deys, about a mile outside the Bab-el-Oued, and considerable pains have been taken to secure cleanliness,

good ventilation, and shade for the inmates; and a thermometer is placed in every ward. But with all this, I saw the attendants bring the slop-pails and empty them on the earth immediately by the walls of the wards, which are long buildings of one story high, running parallel to each other. In the course of a short time the whole space must become saturated with animal matter; for the proceeding which I witnessed was obviously the usual one. There were some few cases of fever in this hospital even at the time of my visit, in the month of February; but the great accession, over the whole of Algeria, is in the months of July, August, and September, when the fatigues of the harvest, added to the natural insalubrity of the season—*pomiferi grave tempus anni*—multiply this form of disease. In the province of Oran the unusual abundance of the crops last year (1857) had aggravated the evil beyond the average scale. Anxious to profit by his good fortune, the poor colonist redoubled his efforts to get the harvest in; his strength in many instances gave way; and I was informed that there were numerous cases of the corn remaining unreaped from the circumstance of its owner having been compelled to take refuge in the hospital.

One of the most useful of the institutions which grew up under the auspices of the first bishop of Algeria was the orphan asylum at Ben-Aknoun, about five miles to the south of Algiers. It was established

by a Jesuit of the name of Brumault, not only for the purposes of charity, but with a view to show that with proper precautions the climate of Algeria might be endured by European constitutions even during the tender age of childhood. The experiment was successful. A number of orphans, from the age of seven years, were employed in agriculture, as well as instructed in the ordinary branches of education; and the mortality among them was little greater than that among the children of the French peasantry. Encouraged by the result, the Père Brumault set up another orphan asylum at Bouffarik; and a third was subsequently established near Oran on the same principles. After the experiment ceased to be doubtful, the government enabled the conductors of the undertaking to enlarge their plan, by assisting them with a grant of 21½ francs monthly for each child. Some of the departments of France sent orphan children to these establishments, which indirectly serve as agricultural schools for the colony.

Up to the end of the year 1854, there had been built at the expense of the state, independently of those due to private efforts, thirty-seven churches, two Protestant temples, and three mosques; and the numbers of the first and the last have increased since that date to a considerable extent. The establishment then consisted of the bishop, who received 20,000 francs a-year, with an allowance of 5,000 francs for travelling

expenses and the salary of two secretaries; two vicars-general at 3,600 francs, and two others whose post was honorary; eight canons at 2,400 francs each; and sixty-eight secular priests, of which those in the principal villages received 2,500 francs annually, and the others 1,800. Besides these there were twenty vicars and ten auxiliary priests, each receiving 1,800 francs. It cannot be doubted that this number is continually increasing. The Cathedral at Algiers is extremely well attended at all the services, and the behaviour of the congregation perfectly decorous. Some of the highest functionaries set an excellent example of attention to public religious worship, as well as of a moral private life; and the influence of this conduct, added to the energy and tact of the principal ecclesiastics, is certainly operating to purge the colony gradually of the vile habits imported by the flood of adventurers which came in first after the conquest.

A French Protestant service is performed in Algiers every Sunday at noon, but the attendance is very small. The Lutherans and Calvinists are united in one consistory under a Calvinist pastor as president. There are a great number of Jews, not only at Algiers, but also at Oran and Constantine. At the first-mentioned place they are continually gaining more and more the monopoly of the native traffic. In one or two streets only are the shops occupied by Moors, who are chiefly employed in making shoes. The Moorish shop,

or rather stall, is nothing more than a room of very narrow dimensions, with the side next the street taken out of it. In the middle of it squats the owner, cross-legged and barefooted, so near to the shelves on the walls that either he or his workmen—for there are often two or three—can reach anything that he wishes without rising. The slippers are left in a corner of the apartment near the street, above which the shop is elevated two or three feet. Every now and then work is suspended in order to take a cup of coffee, which costs only a sou including the lump of sugar with which it is sweetened. It is extremely strong, and is not cleared from the grounds, which, indeed, are always swallowed as unhesitatingly as the raisins in a plum-pudding by an Englishman.

The Moorish shops which abound the most, next to the shoemakers, are those of the embroiderers, and after them the barbers. The natives shave their whole head, except a small tuft on the crown, just where the tonsure of a Romish priest appears; and the head is not so easily operated upon by its owner as the chin. All barbers' shops are furnished with a bench that goes all round, on which the candidates squat, waiting their turn for the services of the experienced operator. "One learns to shave," says the native proverb, "on the heads of orphans." Sometimes, after shaving, the turban is fresh made,—a work of some time. Immediately over his bare

head, the native, whether Moor or Arab, wears one or more skull-caps of wool or cotton, and above these the ordinary red fez. But the next step differs in the two cases. The Arab, when in the country, winds over his head a portion of a long scarf of mixed wool and silk, or wool and cotton, called a *haik*. This is often twenty-five feet or more in length and about a yard in breadth. It is twisted a greater or less number of times under the chin and over the head, according to the state of the weather, and then secured by a cord of camel's hair wound over all. But the Moor, after wetting his haik, makes a small coil of it, and winds this around the lower half of the fez. In the barbers' shops, this operation is performed by the help of a block, like the dressing of a wig in Europe, and the compound ornament transferred to the head of the owner after completion. In wet weather, or at night, the Arab untwists the camel's hair cord, superadds to his ordinary head-gear the hoods of one or two bournouses, and then winds it round again; and he adopts the same proceeding when exposed to a violent sun. It is scarcely necessary to remark upon the incompatibility of these habits with the custom of uncovering the head as a mark of respect. When an Arab or Moor wishes to exhibit this, he takes off his shoes.

It is a curious circumstance that the Algerine Jews have no objection whatever to the presence of a Christian as a spectator of their ritual, unless he takes off his

hat. This they extremely dislike. They have several synagogues in Algiers, one of which is now being restored in a handsome and costly manner, I believe at the expense of the French government, which is extremely popular with them. In fact, the oppression from which this unhappy race has been rescued by the conquest of Algeria was most fearful. A forced contribution, upon any sudden necessity for money arising, was the mildest form of injustice to which they were subjected. More than once the Deys, to allay sedition among their soldiers, granted them free permission to plunder the Jews for a certain number of hours. The Moorish children used always to beat those of the Jews when they saw them in the street, and the least resistance would have been punished by death. Probably it is the reaction from this miserable condition which has made the youthful part of the Jewish population of Algiers conspicuous for vulgar insolence. An European, if not in uniform, who meets a shoal of Jew boys, especially on Saturdays, is pretty sure to be made the subject of some petty impertinence.

The ordinary language which the African Jews use is Arabic, but almost all can also speak Spanish. French is a very rare accomplishment among them, except in Algiers. Everywhere else it implies a superior education. The Spanish language is probably a traditionary acquirement with them from the time of their exile from Spain, although the

many Spanish settlements which existed until recently on the northern coast of Africa must have always rendered it very useful. Their ritual is, as everywhere, Hebrew; but the rabbins preach to them (at least on some occasions) in Arabic. I attended a service in Algiers, and was struck by the circumstance that the air to which the psalms were chanted coincided almost exactly with one of the Gregorian tones. On this occasion the synagogue was very full. Many of the men wore an European costume, but covered their shoulders with a silk scarf, worn like that of a lady in England. Their prayers were repeated with extreme rapidity, every one turning himself to the nearest wall. In Constantine I heard the chant of the psalms occasionally accompanied or interrupted by the shrill cry of *ly-ly-ly*,—the same which the Moorish women use at funerals and weddings, and which is no doubt the representative of the *el-el-eu*, which Herodotus tells us the Libyan women of his time excelled in uttering. I cannot say whether it proceeded from the throats of boys or women, for I was at some distance from the synagogue, engaged in copying some inscriptions; but I was informed it constituted a regular part of the Sabbath service. The chant of the psalms at Constantine was not Gregorian, as at Algiers, but more monotonous and barbaric. The type of the Jewish countenance is, at least as regards the women, very

different as one gets farther East. At Algiers the expression is ugly and mean to the last degree; the nose is hooked, and the chin short and receding, and this effect is increased by their habit of tying up the lower jaw, like that of a corpse, with a handkerchief. At Constantine the nose was straighter and the chin longer and fuller, and I was astonished to find some fair complexions and auburn hair, which reminded me of one of Guercino's Esthers.

On arriving at Tunis, I found this the predominant type of the female Jewish physiognomy, which accident gave me an unusual facility for observing. On the 1st of May, it is the practice to decorate the synagogues with flowers and wax-candles. A kind of shrine, or bower, composed of these is carried in procession from some neighbouring house, attended by people singing and uttering the cry of *ly-ly-ly*. When it arrives at the synagogue it is hung up; and as several are brought, the whole building becomes one blaze of tapers. Every woman who has been married during the previous month comes to the synagogue of her district, dressed out as handsomely as she can compass, and takes her seat upon a bench, where she remains till midnight, when a sermon is delivered by the rabbin—I suppose on the duties of wedlock. I was conducted by a Jew to seven or eight of these synagogues, in each of which a collection is made for the poor of the district, and every

visitor is expected to contribute a small sum. One of the brides was a cousin of my cicerone, and at the house, in a part of which her "churching" took place, his family resided, and I was treated with coffee by his mother and sister, a girl of about thirteen, who was to be married very shortly. All the ladies who showed themselves on this occasion were much alike. Their hair varied from black to auburn, but their complexions were invariably bright and clear. Each as she came sat down upon the bench, opened a pair of large stupid eyes to their fullest extent, stared about her vacantly, and in a minute or two drew up her legs, which were encased in tight pantaloons of gold brocade, and assumed the squatting attitude which alone is compatible with comfort in the opinion of a native. No one seemed to take any particular notice of any other, except the collectors of the contribution, who kept a hawk's eye upon all departures; but there was an incessant chattering and repetition of some formularies maintained by the crowd present. What the precise origin either of this curious festival or of the peculiar physiognomy of the Jewesses of Eastern Barbary may be, it is not easy to say with confidence. The former, being independent of the lunar month, can hardly be in its origin Jewish. It perhaps has some connexion with the Roman festival of the Floralia, and the exhibition of the brides in public may be

a substitute for the grosser displays to which the pagan populations were accustomed, and against which some of the African fathers strongly inveigh.* There is ample evidence, that after the re-conquest of Barbary from the Vandals by Belisarius, a considerable number remained in the more inaccessible parts of the country. In the subsequent times, these would naturally spread, and mixture with the natives would tend to produce in their descendants the physiognomy and complexion which has been remarked. It seems not improbable, therefore, that while the time of this curious nocturnal festival and its floral character is inherited from Roman colonists, the musical part of it descends from the aboriginal Africans; and the aspect of the population which celebrates it indicates the influence exercised by the great invasion from Spain in the fifth century of the Christian era. Finally, in the substitution of decently-dressed wives for the "meretricia turba," and in the appropriation of the money collected from visitors to the support of the poor, we may recognise the influence of the early Christian Church, which, when compelled to tolerate the pagan festivals, always contrived to give a new interpretation to the old

* See St. Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, iv. 26, and Lactantius (who received the instructions of his teacher Arnobius in an African city, Sicca Veneria,—probably El Kef, on the road between Bona and Tunis, and about sixty miles from the latter). *Divin. Instit.* i. 20.

ceremonies, and turn prevailing customs to good account.*

There is a singular fraternity in all the towns of the north of Africa, which illustrates in a remarkable manner the way in which an organized society lasts through many ages, taking up into itself elements derived from the most opposite sources. The members of it are called Aïssaoua,—the guild or company of Aïssa, which is the Arabic form of the name Jesus. The traditionary account of their origin is obviously a perversion of the miraculous feeding of the multitude recorded in Scripture. Their founder (so runs the legend) was a marabout, whose preaching attracted a large crowd of followers. On one occasion they found themselves in the desert without any means of

* The motives of the early Church in these matters are put in the most favourable light by St. Augustine in the following passage, which is instructive in many ways. He had been preaching at Hippo against their practice of indulging in systematic excess in the churches on the festivals of the martyrs; and he told the people (he says),—"Post persecutiones tam multas tamque vehementes, cum, factâ pace, turbæ gentilium in Christianum nomen venire cupientes hoc impedirentur, quod dies festos cum idolis suis solerent in abundantiâ epularum et ebrietate consumere, nec facile ab his perniciosissimis et tam vetustissimis voluptatibus se possent abstinere, visum fuisse majoribus nostris, ut huic infirmitatis parti interim parceretur, diesque festos, post eos quos relinquebant, alios in honorem sanctorum Martyrum non simili sacrilegio quamvis simili luxu celebrarentur; jam Christi nomine colligatis et tantæ auctoritatis jugo subditis salutaria sobrietatis præcepta traderentur, quibus propter præcipientis honorem ac timorem resistere non valerent; quocirca jam tempus esse, ut qui non se audent negare Christianos, secundum Christi voluntatem vivere incipiant, *ut ea, quæ ut essent Christiani, concessa sunt, quum Christiani sunt respuantur.*" —*Ep. ad Alypium. Opera*, vol. ii. p. 70.

subsistence, and were on the point of abandoning him, when he bade them not be disheartened but eat whatever they could find. Immediately they fell to devouring earth and weeds, the leaves of the prickly pear, and the snakes and scorpions which had taken refuge among the roots of the last. From that time forwards the affiliated members of the society acquired the power of devouring substances the most ill-adapted for food. They are really, I have little doubt, the genuine descendants of the Psylli, a tribe of serpent-charmers and jugglers, which Herodotus was informed had perished in an expedition into the Sahara,* but which existed, with the reputation of being insect and reptile-proof, in the neighbourhood of the Cyrenaica, five hundred years afterwards,† and in the time of the Antonines were in repute all over Greece for their skill in curing snake-bites.‡

I was witness of the feats of a party of Aïssaoua in Algiers, where the faith in their magical powers has in great part given way to mere wonder at their endurance. But even here they do not exhibit themselves professedly as jugglers, but are sent for as

* IV. 173. The story of Herodotus shows that the reputed expedition into the desert entered into the traditionary reports of his day, although the circumstances attending it were related differently. It would seem as if in his time the Psylli professed to have (like the Lapland conjurors) power over the wind. Their object was to quell the *scirocco*, then, as now, the worst calamity to which Barbary is exposed.

† Strabo, *Geograph.* xvii. 1, p. 460, ed. Tauchnitz.

‡ Pausanias, ix. 28. 1.

exorcists by Moorish families in which there may be a sick person, who is supposed by the superstitious inmates of the house to be under the influence of malignant spirits. When such an occasion offers, the curious are admitted into the court where the magicians assemble, and are expected to make a small present in acknowledgment. The proceeding which I witnessed commenced by six or seven Aïssaoua sitting round a charcoal fire, and singing a low monotonous chant, accompanying it with sounds produced by the palm of the hand and knuckles on a musical instrument, exactly resembling the ancient tympanum, or tambourine without the jangling metallic apparatus. This was continued a long time, the chief of the party taking no part in the incantation except by throwing occasionally a pinch of some substance which caused a slight smoke into the chafing-dish. The chant became gradually more energetic and quicker, and at last a young man laid down his tambourine and got up. He stood over the fire, swaying his body about in time to the music, assuming every minute more and more the appearance of a person possessed, alternately bowing his head almost into the chafing-dish and throwing it backwards as if without power to restrain himself. Presently he became ecstatic, and commenced jumping violently, always, however, coming down in the same spot close to the fire, and from time to time setting

up a hideous howl. The old chief now advanced towards him, and seemed to soothe him by gestures like those which animal magnetizers are wont to employ to tranquillize their patients. He then brought him a kind of shovel used by the Arab smiths, of which the scoop had been made red hot. The young man took this with a howl, intended to evince satisfaction, licked it with his tongue, and placed it on his naked arms, which were streaming with perspiration from the exercise he had taken. He then stalked about the apartment, uttering the peculiar growl which is emitted by an angry camel. A leaf of the prickly pear was thrown to him, which he picked up in his mouth from the ground, and ate a portion of it. He then resumed his jumping by the side of the chafing-dish, and another performer got up and exhibited nearly the same feats.

This was a man almost as black as a negro, but with the European features and soft hair. After he had, however, exhibited his appetite for red hot iron and cactus leaves, he treated the company to a yet more disgusting display. Giving a rotatory motion to a long piece of iron, exactly like a spit, he proceeded apparently to force out one of his eyes with it. The real operation effected was the twisting of the eyelid round the point of the rod, by which means the former entirely disappeared, and the whole of the eye protruded as if it had been torn from its socket. This

was esteemed a master-stroke, and the chief made a special collection for the benefit of the performer. He afterwards inserted the same rod into his body at the navel and brought the point out just over the hip. Both these feats were accompanied by indications of great pain, the idea intended to be impressed upon the spectators being that the man was compelled thus to torture himself by the demon which possessed him. I observed him very closely, and saw that the latter trick had been effected by means of an artificial fistula made in the thick skin of the belly. After drawing the iron rod from his body, he returned to the side of the chafing-dish, and resumed his jumping, which displayed extraordinary agility, until at last he sunk with an appearance of perfect exhaustion upon a bench at the side of the room. This performer was the son of a man of some property, who was anxious to induce him to give up his vagabond life; but the excitement of it was too great an attraction to allow him to accede to his father's wishes.

Some of these Aïssaoua, in their fit of possession, eat serpents and scorpions alive; and the old chief told us that one of his party would soon come to Algiers, who was a master of this accomplishment, which, like the eye trick, is far from general among the body; but he was not successful in inducing any European to pay him another visit.

In the interior of the country the faith in the

magical nature of the proceeding still continues firm. At Maskara I passed by the door of a hut, where an exorcism by some Aïssaoua was being carried on inside. Mingling with some Arabs that were standing and looking in, I saw a performer in the state of ecstatic excitement; but in two or three minutes my European dress caught his eye, and he suddenly stopped, put his hand to his head as if stunned, and staggering to a bench fainted, or affected to faint, away. By the manner of the Arabs, both within and without the cottage, I saw plainly that my presence was felt to have broken the spell in which the exorcist had been held, and consequently to have marred the success of the incantation. The whole proceeding was suspended; and observing the sullen side looks, with one eye half-closed—a sure sign of Arab malice—which were directed upon me, I judged it prudent to walk slowly off, the more so as some of the party were Morocco Arabs, the most savage and unscrupulous of all the race. On passing near the house about an hour afterwards, I was glad to find, by the sounds which proceeded from it, that the operation had been resumed, and I took care not to endanger its success by a second intrusion.

CHAPTER IV.

From Pointe Pescade a track ascends the hill, by which the pedestrian may get up to the plateau on the top of the Sahel, and after a few miles of walking, reach the village of Bouzarieh; and he may also do the same by ascending just beyond the village of St. Eugène; but the extremely broken character of the ground and the overgrowth of brushwood renders it very easy for him to miss his way, and he must remember that the chances are ten to one against his meeting with any one to put him right should he do so. A pocket-compass and a map,—of which last the best to be had are extremely bad,—are an absolute necessity; but even with these, and with a habit of finding his way about a strange country, the traveller must lay his account for a good deal of fatigue and some deviation from the nearest path. He will, however, be sure to find objects to interest him, although they all tell the same tale,—one of former prosperity that has vanished. Between St. Eugène and Bouzarieh I passed several ruins of old Moorish villas, and in two

places came upon portions of the old Roman road, which probably conducted from Icosium to the settlement near Rous-el-Knathar. One of the ruined villas was so large that, at a distance, I thought it might be still occupied. Its scale corresponded with that of the country-house of an English gentleman with a fortune of £7,000 or £8,000 a-year. When I reached it, however, I found the roof gone, and the glazed tiles which had ornamented the interior torn up, except in one room most admirably placed for an exquisite sea-view, which appeared to have been used as an oratory. Very near there was a small wood, and as my course led me round this, I happened to observe a narrow path conducting into it, frayed through trees which grew so thick as almost to conceal it. I followed it, and presently found myself in an open space containing a number of Moorish graves, and just by, overgrown with brushwood, a handsome tomb. The occupant of this was probably some former owner of the ruined mansion, in repute as a marabout. Even at the present time some persons remain who pay respect to his memory, possibly pauperized members of his own family, for ragged strips of clothing were hanging about the tomb, and hard by I found concealed a coarse kind of candlestick with remnants of wax sticking to it, which had obviously been employed very recently. About half-a-mile off I met a Moor who happened to speak French, and he told me

that there was a burial-place, no longer used, in the direction from which I had come.

Bouzarieh may, however, be reached in a two hours' drive from Algiers by two different roads, both of which afford a succession of exquisitely beautiful views, only to be surpassed by the one which presents itself on arriving at the Vigie, or Telegraph Station, about half-a-mile from the village itself. From this point, which is not less than 1400 or 1500 feet above the sea, the spectator may study the country as he would a map; while in whatever direction he turns his eye, he will behold a picture to charm the artist. If he looks to the east, he surveys the sweep of the sea-coast which forms the bay of Algiers, with Cape Matifou, as it appears to the eye, almost within range of cannon shot. Beyond this rise gradually the mountains of Kabylie; and high above the rest the rugged ridge of Djerjera (the Mons Ferratus of the ancients), with the snow on its peaks shining in the sun. Turning round to the south, his view is closed by the blue wall of the Atlas, at the foot of which appears a part of the rich plain of the Metidja, not cut up by fences, but dotted here and there with minute white specks, which indicate that an European has been tempted by the fertility of the soil to brave the fever which rises out of the neighbouring marsh. More common than these are patches of dark green, the site of Arab orange-groves, or masses of a lighter hue, out

of which spring two or three palm trees. These mark the villages of agricultural Arabs, fenced in and intersected in every direction by the prickly pear. In the south-west direction, the elevated plateau upon which the spectator is standing, runs out as far as the eye can see in a kind of spur, separating the Metidja on its south-east side from another plain on the north-west. This latter comprises the whole circle of the operations that gave the French possession of Algiers in 1830. Carrying the eye from the Rous-el-Knathar, of which I have already spoken, along the line of the coast westwards, one's attention is arrested by an elevated promontory about nine miles to the west-south-west. A flat neck of land connects it with the shore, which on both sides of the isthmus is very low, and sweeps into bays affording some slight protection from the north-east and east winds. For four or five miles from the sea, the land rises very gradually. The soil is soft friable sandy clay, thickly covered with the ordinary brushwood of North Africa, the lentisque, the oleander, and the myrtle, very gently undulating, and here and there seamed with ravines, made by the streams which take their rise in the plateau on which I suppose the spectator to stand.

On the top of the promontory is a small round tower, called by the Spaniards Torre Chica, which gives its name to the peninsula in most charts; but the natives

call it after Sidi Ferudje, a marabout of great sanctity, who lies buried there. When the invasion of Algiers was determined upon, it was resolved that the debarkation of the army should take place here, the beach being favourable for such an operation, and the peninsula offering an excellent site for a fortified camp, to serve as a base for future operations. On the 13th of June, about noon, the vessels of the invading force began to arrive, and cast anchor in the bay to the west of the cape. They met with scarcely any opposition, the Turks having expected that a landing would be attempted in the neighbourhood of Cape Matifou, where they had collected a considerable force to oppose it. A single battery, which was masked by the brushwood, discharged four shells upon the invaders, one of which in bursting wounded a seaman on board the *Breslau* man-of-war, but no other harm was done. The whole of the day was occupied in placing the fleet in proper positions for the debarkation of the troops the next morning. The French army, amounting on the whole to nearly 35,000 fighting men, was distributed into three divisions, the first commanded by General Berthezène, the second by General Loverdo, and the third by the Duke D'Escars, a young man of gallantry, but altogether unversed in war, and forced upon M. de Bourmont by the influence of the court. The fleet, which consisted of 100 ships of war and 357

transports, besides a considerable number of barges and rafts for landing artillery and horses, was under the orders of Admiral Duperré, between whom and General Bourmont a coldness and jealousy soon made itself felt. At break of day on the 14th, the first division effected a landing without any resistance, and advanced at once against the enemy, who had posted themselves on a slight elevation about a mile and a half from the shore, and defended their position by three batteries. On the advance of the French they abandoned these after a very slight resistance, retiring behind a shallow ravine a little more inland; and the first division of the invading army bivouacked on the ground the enemy had left, with the second, which had landed during the advance of the first, close in its rear. The third division was also disembarked, and at once set to work to convert the peninsula of Sidi Ferudje into an entrenched camp, in which hospitals and magazines, both of food and ammunition, were speedily established.

It is surprising to find how little the French were aware of the nature of the country in which they had to operate, and also how greatly they had over-estimated the strength of the enemy with whom they were about to contend. M. de Bourmont seems to have imagined that he would be surrounded by clouds of cavalry like the Mamelukes; and in a general order issued about a fortnight before the landing,

endeavoured to forestall the panic which he feared might spring up among the troops from such an apparition. The soldiers were also provided with a kind of movable palisade, formed of lances chained three together, which was intended to defend them against the attacks of these formidable horsemen. But nothing can be more unlike the Mameluke than the spahi of North Africa, or the flat plains of Egypt than the Tel (a hill country) of Algeria. The Arab horseman is indeed armed with a sabre or yataghan, but he only employs it for the purpose of decapitating his wounded prisoner. Encumbered with his loose bournouses—for he always wears two, and often more—the drawing of his weapon is to him a work of considerable time, and the sheathing it more difficult still. His real arm of offence is a long gun, with which he performs the service of a mounted rifleman, galloping up to within forty or fifty yards of his enemy, discharging his piece, and retreating again as rapidly as he had advanced. The rough and broken character of the ground on the flanks of the mountains, and the thick brushwood covering it, would effectually prevent the ordinary manœuvring of cavalry.

Although the troops had been landed without accident, they carried only five days' provisions with them, and it required some time to disembark a sufficient quantity of stores to prevent future anxiety on this score. Bourmont had also determined to

make a road, and establish a chain of redoubts, along the line by which his army moved. Eight of these redoubts were constructed between Sidi Ferudje and Algiers, most of which strike the eye at once at the present day. The delay, however, occasioned by such a cautious policy gave the Turks time to collect a larger force than they had at first at command; and on the 19th of June they attacked the French lines. Bourmont had wished to wait the arrival of his siege guns and the horses of his baggage-train before advancing at all farther; but the inaction of the soldiers so much increased the audacity of the enemy, that after they were repulsed it seemed absolutely necessary to pursue them, and, changing his first plan, the French general ordered an attack. His plans were somewhat marred in the execution, but nevertheless the victory of the French was complete; all the artillery of the enemy fell into their hands; and in the camp at Staoueli, where the Agha of the Turks had his head-quarters, not only were the tents of the principal officers taken all standing, richly furnished, but in one a considerable sum in money was found, which had been brought to pay the troops. In this affair, which goes by the name of the Battle of Staoueli, the Turks lost nearly 4,000 men, while the French had no more than 600 put *hors de combat.* In the year 1843, when M. Dupuch laid the first stone of the Trappist establishment at

Staoueli; there was placed underneath it a bed of bullets which had been picked up in the immediate neighbourhood.

Bourmont, steadily pursuing his original plan of carefully securing his communications, continued the road from Sidi Ferudje up to the new position of his advanced divisions at Staoueli, and completed the entrenchment of his great camp on the peninsula itself. The lines drawn across the isthmus were armed with twenty-four sea guns, and the redoubts built to secure the road with the pieces which had been taken from the enemy. These operations were just completed when the Turkish commander, having collected a fresh force of Arabs, attacked the French advanced posts on the 24th. The general, who that day had come early to the front from his head-quarters at Sidi Ferudje, met the assault by ordering his own troops to take the offensive. The enemy did not attempt to make a stand, but fled till they reached the elevated ground which connects Bouzarieh with the hills immediately above Algiers. The French call this affair the battle of Sidi Kalif, from a hamlet which then occupied nearly the same site that the village of Cheragas now does. But few men were put *hors de combat* on their side; but among them was a son of the general's, who received a wound from which he died a few days afterwards. At the end of the day they occupied the position of Fontaine

Chapelle, a name given by them to a marabout of Sidi Abderrhaman-bou-Nega, in consequence of a strong spring of excellent water in the vicinity. This marabout, now ruined, stands close by the present road from Algiers to Cheragas and Koleah, which passes between it and the spring. Immediately beyond it, as one goes from Sidi Ferudje towards Algiers, is a moist elevated plateau, from which issue several streams. Some of them, running to the westward, fall into the sea between Sidi Ferudje and Rous-el-Knathar; while others, taking a south-westerly course, descend into the plain of the Metidja, where they augment the stream formed by the union of two branches of the Harash, which take their rise in the Atlas range. The heights occupied by the Turks at the close of the 24th lie beyond this plateau. They dominate the position taken up by the French, a circumstance which turned to the disadvantage of the latter during the next four days, which were occupied in continual skirmishes, while the general completed his road to bring up the heavy guns with which he intended to attack Algiers.

On the 29th the army was united at Fontaine Chapelle, and moved forward. The third division, which had not been engaged, was brought to the front to give the Duke d'Escars an opportunity of distinguishing himself. At break of day the three divisions advanced in close columns across the valley

which separated them from the enemy, who took to flight without making any important resistance. The second division, which was in the centre, had been ordered to follow the trace of an ancient Roman road, which wound over the mountain Bouzarieh to the vicinity of the Fort of the Emperor, keeping the watershed at the head of the many ravines which seam all sides of the hill. The third division, stationed on the left, after a fatiguing march across several glens, where the worst European troops might have stopped it, finally arrived on the slopes of Bouzarieh which face Algiers. The first division, on the right, had no enemy to oppose it, but the difficulties of the ground over which it had to move were so great, that bearing insensibly to its left, it passed in the rear of the second, without being aware of the fact, and at last appeared on the slopes of Bouzarieh, behind the division of the Duke d'Escars. The fate of the second was even worse. Owing to some misapprehension, Loverdo made a retrograde movement, and got into a ravine, where General Bourmont's aide-de-camp, who was despatched to order him to advance, had great difficulty in finding him. Finally, the third division contrived to entangle itself in the broken ground; for Bourmont, on arriving at the Vigie of Bouzarieh, and finding the erratic course which had been pursued by the first division, determined to retain it, and send the third to occupy the ground to the right of

the Roman road, the place which, according to the original plan, was to have been taken up by the first. The Duke d'Escars, making a short cut for the purpose of effecting the operation more speedily, got his men, too, lost in some of the deepest and most difficult ravines. For a time it was utterly disorganised, and troops of all arms were mixed up *pêle-mêle* with one another.

If the Turkish general had possessed any ability, it is said that two of the three divisions would infallibly have been destroyed; but after the first onset, the Turks abandoning their guns, which fell into the hands of the French, took refuge beneath the fortifications of Algiers. Only the third division suffered any loss, except from fatigue; but the confusion in that and the second was for a time very great, and the restoration of order was the work of several hours.

After the traveller has satisfied his curiosity with the view of the country from the Vigie of Bouzarieh, he will do well to visit the Arab village called Petit Bouzarieh. This occupies the site of a village of Andalusian Moors which was destroyed by the French; and the huts of the present inhabitants are composed in great part of the ruins of the former houses. It is thickly planted with the prickly pear, the hedges of gardens in former days, but now only an article of cultivation. The French village of Bouzarieh, which consists of only two or three tenements,

one of them an alehouse and café, is about ten minutes' walk south of the Arab village, and a carriage cannot pass between them. The first time I was there I was witness of a curious spectacle. Some of the Arabs had jointly purchased an ox in Algiers, for the purpose of slaughtering it, and dividing the flesh. Their practice is to throw the animal on the ground by hampering its legs with a rope, after which they cut its throat with a yataghan. This operation had just been performed—as always, in the open air—on a green in front of the little inn of the French village, and there were lying on the ground twenty-four little heaps of meat, and a twenty-fifth, which consisted of the head and feet of the animal. What had become of the fifth quarter and the hide, I could not learn, but no doubt they were made use of in some way. To distribute these portions among the purchasers, a number of bits of twisted straw and sticks, duly marked, were put into a basket and shaken. An Arab then took them out one by one, and as he did so called out the name of the owner, who thereupon appropriated the next heap of flesh to himself. An old man, whom I took for the kadi, stood by looking on, perhaps to see that the proceeding was conducted fairly.

The slopes of Mount Bouzarieh, towards the west and south, are held by this tribe. They cultivate a portion of the soil on something like communistic

principles, dividing it among themselves according to the strength of each family, and feeding the uncultivated part in commonage. When the head of a family dies, his property is divided among his children according to the Mahometan law, which is expounded by the kadi. No Algerian Arab can alienate the piece of land he cultivates to a non-tribesman, if the members of the tribe choose to purchase it. It is not often that the desire can arise, for the position of the holder of a property acquired under such circumstances, surrounded by native neighbours, would be something worse than that of a snake in a porcupine's hole.

Towards the north, the slopes of Bouzarieh are chiefly inhabited by Spaniards and Mahonnais, who cultivate the remains of the gardens which had been formed by the Moors in that region, wherever the arrangements for irrigation have escaped destruction. The great demand for fruit and vegetables in Algiers is enriching them, for they are a singularly frugal and industrious people.

From the French village of Bouzarieh, a road descends through what is called the Valley of the Consuls, it having been a favourite locality for foreign residents before the conquest. The gradients are easy, and the many windings which the steepness of the hills towards the sea has necessitated, open a succession of the most charming views, something like

those one enjoys in skirting the gulf of Spezzia. But the softness of the soil has here, as almost everywhere in Algeria, been fatal to the preservation of the route, which is so injured by the rains that a humane man will be tempted to get out of his carriage in going up hill, and a prudent one in going down, at a dozen different places. It descends on the shore, at a little distance outside the fortifications on the north side of the town, close by the military hospital which has been already mentioned. The other road runs southward for four or five miles, till it strikes the highway from Algiers to Cheragas, Staoueli, and Koleah, which is one of the very best in the whole country.

Returning from Bouzarieh to Algiers by this route, the traveller will nearly follow the course of the French army, when, after the action of the 29th of June, they proceeded to invest the Fort of the Emperor. Very soon after reaching the highway, he will pass through El Biar, a collection of houses not altogether unlike an English village. There are several villas in the immediate neighbourhood, and it is a favourite resort of the Algerine aristocracy. A mile further, and the Fort of the Emperor is seen on the right hand,—the key of Algiers, which lies at its feet, and could be destroyed from it with perfect ease. It is now a strong fortification, but at the time of the invasion was merely an oblong square, with a large round tower in the middle, and a double wall on the

south side, altogether devoid of outworks, although dominated by higher hills in the immediate neighbourhood. On two of these, opposite to the south and the west sides of the fort, the French constructed their batteries of attack. The trenches were commenced on the 30th of June, and on the 4th of July, at four o'clock in the morning, fire was opened simultaneously on the south side from a battery of six guns, and on the west from ten guns, two howitzers, and four mortars. At eight o'clock the Turkish fire, which at first had been very vigorous, began to slacken; at ten it was silenced, the guns of the fort nearly all dismounted, and the parapets entirely destroyed. General Lahitte, who conducted the siege, now gave the order to lay the guns for making a breach, when suddenly a terrible explosion was heard, and a thick cloud of smoke enveloped the fort. The Turks, unable to resist the attack of the invaders, had retired to the Kazbah after laying a train to the magazine of the Fort. As soon as this was ascertained, the French scaled the walls; and by means of only two field-pieces, assisted by the fire of three Turkish guns that remained uninjured, speedily silenced Fort Bab-Azoun, from which, as well as from the Kazbah, a fire had been kept up on them during the attack on the Fort of the Emperor. They then established themselves on a mamelon—the site of the Fort of the Tagarins—situated less than

200 yards from the Kazbah, and were proceeding to form communications between this and the Fort of the Emperor, when the Dey sent his chief secretary, Mustapha, to the French general, with an offer to pay the expenses of the expedition, and to satisfy the whole of the French demands upon him as the price of peace. Bourmont replied that the surrender of Algiers was a necessary preliminary of any negotiation, and the secretary returned, after making the extraordinary proposition to the French general to assassinate the Dey and set up the Finance Minister (a patron of his own) in his place. From the new sovereign, he asserted, the French would obtain a better bargain than the existing one had proposed.

It was now eleven o'clock at night; the terrified people, fearing that the town would be taken by storm and plundered, tumultuously demanded a capitulation; and at half-past one in the morning, two new messengers arrived, one of whom was a Moor that had long resided in Marseilles. They were presently followed by the chief secretary, this time accompanied by the English Consul. A capitulation was drawn up, and accepted by the Dey; and by noon the next day,—only three weeks after the landing at Sidi Ferudje,—the French army occupied the citadel and town of Algiers, which they have ever since retained.

CHAPTER V.

THE beautifully-traced road by which the traveller descends from the Fort of the Emperor to the Faux-bourg Bab-Azoun (the southern extremity of Algiers), was constructed by the army under the Duke de Rovigo (General Savary) during his short administration of the province in 1832. In its formation, as well as in that of the esplanade outside the Bab-el-Oued, it was necessary to destroy a Moorish cemetery; and this proceeding, which under any circumstances would have shocked Mahometan feelings, was conducted with such disregard of all decency, that even the French civilians were scandalized. No provision was made for the re-interment of the partially decomposed remains; and when the engineer's line passed, as was often the case, through the middle of a grave, one half of the skeleton was left exposed to view in the bank, while the other part was carted away with the earth that had to be removed, to form an embankment a little further off.

Another branch of the road descends upon the esplanade just mentioned, and is no less admirable as a work of engineering. It was finished by General Voirol, the great road-maker among the governors of Algeria, in the year 1834; and then, for the first time, it became possible to make the circuit of Algiers in a wheeled carriage. The descent in both these branches is at the uniform pitch of one in twenty, and great pains have been taken to provide means for carrying off the water which falls in the rainy season. General Voirol extended this road southwards for nearly fifteen miles beyond the point where its two branches meet, through the villages of Dely Ibrahim and Douera, to the very verge of the plain of the Metidja, at an Arab settlement called Ouled-Mendil. It was subsequently prolonged as far as Blidah, on the other side of the plain; and the part constructed by Voirol is undoubtedly the best, as well as the most important, of all the Algerian routes.

Another road, no less admirably traced, but in worse condition, quits Algiers by the Bab-Azoun, and winds up the Sahel through the village of Mustapha, a charming situation, where some of the principal French functionaries have country houses, which are for the most part old Moorish villas. Mustapha is only about a mile and a half from Algiers. The plain which lies beneath, between the hill and the sea, is partly occupied by some cavalry barracks, in which

are quartered the 1st Regiment of the Chasseurs d'Afrique. Their colonel, the Vicomte de Salignac-Fénélon, whose courtesy and high cultivation are not inferior to his acknowledged abilities as an officer and administrator, occupies one of the country houses on the hill above, in the immediate neighbourhood of the palace of Marshal Randon, the Governor-General of Algeria, who is his father-in-law. Beyond the cavalry barracks is an extensive common, on which the reviews of the troops stationed in Algiers take place. Skirting this, another road likewise constructed by General Voirol, runs along the foot of the hills, and in about six miles reaches the Maison Carrée, just after crossing the river Harash on a stone bridge of some centuries old.

Following the course of the route through Mustapha, the visitor, after passing the culminating point (on which a column is placed, commemorating the names of General Voirol and of five regiments of the African army, by whom the operation of making the road was executed), begins to descend through an undulating country, seamed with ravines, of which the sides are richly wooded and the bottoms fertile, to a pretty village called Birmandreis. It only consists of two or three houses, one of which is a café,—the first essential of French existence; but the plentiful supply of water, and the luxuriant foliage of the trees with which it is surrounded, invest it with the highest

beauty in the eye of an African. It has, however, a bad reputation for unhealthiness, being surrounded by hills which prevent a free circulation of air. About two miles further is a larger village—Birkadem (Well of the Negro), so called from a fountain, ornamented with a marble façade, by the side of the road. The village is built in a hollow, below a mamelon on which, in the early part of the French occupation, a fortified camp was established. From another hill, little more than a mile off the village on the south-east side, a good view of the lower portion of the Metidja, and of the Atlas behind it, may be obtained.

There are communal schools here both for boys and girls, but very scantily attended. The mistress of the latter complained that there were some absences from fever, which much surprised me at that time of the year (the middle of January), and the master did not assign any such reason for the small number of his scholars. All the settlers in Birkadem are engaged in agriculture, with the exception of one who was employed in the preparation of *crin végétal*, the stringy fibres of the leaves of the dwarf palm, which is used instead of wool for stuffing mattresses. Among the children in the school I found two or three Mahonnais and Germans, the latter of which could understand their native language, but had become unable to speak it. The schoolmaster told me there was also a Moorish school kept up by the Government, which was well

attended. I asked if care was taken to teach the scholars French, and he replied that they rarely learnt more than the few words which would be useful to them in intercourse with the officials.

Beyond Birkadem the road approaches the Metidja more apparently, and in about three miles reaches it by descending rather suddenly on the Oued-el-Kerma, which is there crossed by a stone bridge. I estimated this point to be very little more than thirty feet above the level of the sea. Here the work of General Voirol terminated; but the road is now continued, in a west-south-west direction, along the skirts of the plain, till it cuts the prolongation of the Dely Ibrahim and Douera road, about a mile to the south of Ouled Mendil, at a place called *Les quatre chemins*. There is a posting station here, and one or two inns to supply the wants of travellers; but nothing can exceed the melancholy appearance of the place. Immediately to the south of it is a fen, through which, at the expense of great labour, the road to Blidah is carried; and this—which is the chief, and indeed only direct military communication between the seat of government and the most important post in the central province—is so rotten, and lies so low, that in the whole of England it would not be easy to find a farming road which would not, taking the whole year round, prove a more secure route. At its lowest point, which is about three or four miles before reaching Bouffarik, it is probably

not more than half a dozen feet above the sea level. A very slight fall of rain destroys the consistency of the surface, and any considerable quantity would interrupt the traffic altogether. One day, while I was at Algiers, the Blidah diligence (which is by no means badly horsed) stuck fast in this Slough of Despond, and even the passengers in the *coupé*, who on these occasions are generally considered a privileged class, were forced to get out and walk,—when they found the mud up to mid-thigh.

The connexion of Algiers and Blidah is the most pressing of the problems which the so much desired railroads are required to solve; and the difficulty of solution is enormous. There is not enough stone in the province of Algiers to metal the common roads, much less to furnish ballast for railway embankments such as would be requisite. These, constructed of the soft earth of the Sahel, would not resist even the rains of England, and would be washed away in a year by the almost tropical storms of North Africa.

If, instead of mounting the hill by the road through Mustapha,' the traveller pursues the route along the low lands, he will soon arrive at the great botanical garden of Algeria, or (as it is called) the Jardin d'Essai. It, or rather two cafés immediately opposite to it, is a favourite resort of the middle classes of Algiers, both French and native. One of the cafés is

a Moorish one; and it is worth while to step up to it while waiting for one of the many *citadines* which ply between "Le Ruisseau"—about a mile further than the Jardin d'Essai—and Algiers. In fine weather several Moors are generally to be seen sitting outside the café, under the shade of some plane trees, occupied in playing draughts. The laws of the game slightly differ from the European, and the squares, instead of being black and white, are depressed and elevated,—which is, perhaps, the original form of the board, and imitated in later times by the difference of colour.

The public are freely admitted to the main walks of the Jardin d'Essai, but, in order to visit the conservatories and the parts of the garden in which experiments of acclimatization are being carried on, it is necessary to apply to the curator for a written order. This, however, there is no difficulty in obtaining; and the visitor will be well repaid for his trouble. There are some beautiful Norfolk Island pines growing in the open air. One tree particularly struck me—the *Araucaria excelsa*. It was at least forty feet high, and shooting out with the vigour of a native shrub. Here may be seen a collection of all the different varieties of that cactus to which the prickly pear and the cochineal plant belong. The latter is very like the prickly pear, and its leaves of the same shape, but smaller. The plantain is being fast naturalized. Its fruit comes to the Algiers market, but it is not yet produced cheap enough to be

anything but a luxury. The sugar-cane may also be seen. It is a favourite idea of enthusiastic Algerians to establish sugar plantations in Biskra and the neighbouring oases, and cultivate them by means of negroes redeemed from the warlike tribes further south. This proceeding is strenuously advocated in the newspapers of Algiers on motives of humanity, as being an admirable device for preventing the murder of prisoners of war; and the astounding ignorance of the principles of political economy which prevails in Algeria allows one to indulge the charitable hope that the writers of the articles may be in earnest.

But of all the contents of the Jardin d'Essai the most pleasing to the ordinary visitor is an avenue composed of date palms and dwarf palms alternately. It presents the appearance of a beautiful colonnade of about 450 yards long. I was struck with the ample clusters of dates hanging from the trees. Large yellow stalks rise up among the leaves all round, and bending over divide into a profusion of bunches. The fruit, however, does not ripen satisfactorily north of the Atlas, and the dates with which the market of Algiers is supplied all come from Biskra. Almost all the camels which one sees have been employed in bringing them.

After proceeding as far as "Le Ruisseau," a point on the road where a brook coming from the hills is employed in turning a mill, the road takes a more

southerly direction, and begins to ascend the Sahel by graduated terraces, like those of the Birkadem and the Dely Ibrahim routes, until it reaches Kouba, a village between six and seven miles from Algiers. Here, again, an excellent view of the town and harbour is obtained. In the early part of the French occupation, the safety of the immediate neighbourhood was secured by a line of fortified camps, at Kouba, Birkadem, Dely Ibrahim, and Tixerain, a place between the two last named. The routes already described connected Algiers directly with the first three, and their communication with one another was effected by a cross road of a less elaborate construction. This still exists between Kouba and Birkadem; but Tixerain is now left in the rear of a more extended line, which goes as far south as Saoula, and then, turning to the north-west, passes through Drahria to Dely Ibrahim. It is quite practicable for wheeled carriages until near Drahria, when its condition becomes as bad as that of one of the fen tracks in Cambridgeshire. This probably arises from the circumstance of a fortified camp (which subsequently became a village) having been established still further to the south, at Douera. The maintenance of the roads within the new line of communication becoming unnecessary, money was no longer spent in keeping them up; and in Algeria no route survives neglect for any length of time.

The village of Saoula is almost exclusively inhabited by Spaniards, whose constitutions offer greater resistance than those of the French to the fevers which still prevail and which at first decimated the settlers. The population of Drahria is also mainly Spanish, but there are some few French among them, one of whom keeps a café, although he himself is a farmer. The day I visited the village the whole population, my host included, were at work in the fields, with the exception of one man who took my horse. The wife of the café-keeper seemed a very intelligent and active woman. She had come to Africa as lady's-maid to an officer's wife, and had married a fellow-servant. Her husband had been offered some land as a concession, but preferred to rent what he held, which was ready cleared and in a healthy situation. She seemed perfectly contented, and was loud in her praises of the fertility of the soil, which produces not only cereals and garden-stuff, but very fair wine. The village was originally surrounded with a loop-holed wall, but the security of the last ten years has caused this to disappear, leaving only the town gates still standing to testify to its former necessity.

On the site of the camp at Kouba a large church of a very imposing character is in course of erection. It stands on elevated ground, and is built with a cupola. Fortunately, in the immediate neighbourhood is a quarry of stone well adapted for architectural

purposes. This church is to form a part of the great diocesan seminary for the clergy, and is connected with a missionary college of the Pères Lazaristes and a school conducted by the sisters of the religious order of St. Vincent de Paul. The whole of these establishments are at present in a provisional state, the buildings intended for their reception being yet far from completion.

About a mile from the camp an agricultural village was established by the Duke de Rovigo, and a few houses still remain; but the attempt entirely failed, after it had given rise to steps which were highly prejudicial to the relations between the French and the natives. The panic produced in Algiers by the invasion, and still more by the arbitrary measures which followed it, not only caused many of the Moorish inhabitants of the town to emigrate, but induced several of the agricultural Arabs of the vicinity to abandon their lands. It happened just at this time that 500 or 600 Germans and Swiss, who had come to Havre with the design of crossing to America, suddenly changed their minds and proceeded to Algiers, where they arrived for the most part in a state of destitution. The Duke thought this an excellent opportunity for attempting the establishment of an agricultural colony, and made choice of Dely Ibrahim and Kouba for the experiment. At Kouba there was a farm belonging to a sequestrated mosque, and at

Dely Ibrahim some lands which had been held by the now suppressed janissaries. Taking these properties as the foundation of his scheme, he increased them by seizing the abandoned lands in the neighbourhood; leaving it at the same time free to the owners of these to establish their claims and obtain some compensation. The consequences of this rash step showed themselves immediately. The natives, despairing of any substantial justice, sold their rights for the merest trifle to Europeans, who made use of their purchase solely for the purpose of compelling the Government to buy off their opposition to its measures. Even some officials took advantage of the opportunity for enriching themselves afforded by a measure which issued in the irritation of the natives, the corruption of their masters, and the destruction of the poor colonists. Twenty per cent. of these perished from want and misery before their location was effected, in spite of the aid of the state, which was extended to them to the amount of more then £8,000. The Duke was so annoyed at the ill success of his experiment that he had an official notice published, prohibiting any colonist from landing in Algiers if not in possession of sufficient funds to maintain himself for a twelvemonth. "Unhappily," says a contemporary witness of what followed, "there was still free access to the colony for land-jobbers and lawyers, money-lenders and prostitutes!"

From Kouba the road begins to descend towards the Metidja through an undulating country, which in parts reminds one of the skirts of a Hampshire moor, — with dwarf palms, camel-thorn, prickly broom, asphodel, and a liliaceous plant with a very broad leaf, where in England we should find brambles, gorse, and rushes. Three or four miles bring us to the ford of the Harash, which is there about as broad as the Cam at Chesterton. Its depth varies with the quantity of rain that may have recently fallen. I crossed it on two occasions, and the first time the depth was less than three feet, the second full four. In August or September it would probably not cover the ankles, while in the winter before last its stream became sufficiently swelled to sweep away the cottages of some brick-makers, who are established on a little island formed by a secondary channel of the stream. One of these was an Italian Swiss, and another a Spaniard. They told me they could not make bricks for less than thirty francs the 1,000, although the earth beneath their feet furnished the clay for nothing. Tiles about ten inches square cost fifty francs the 1,000. The chief expense is that of fuel for heating the kiln, which consists entirely of the brushwood which grows over the country, especially the roots of the dwarf palm. These burn very slowly unless mixed with some other kind of wood, and the Arabs avail themselves of this peculiarity to husband their fuel. If they wish to

have a cup of coffee, the water and the powdered (or rather crushed) grains are put together into a small tin pot, just big enough for the purpose. In a corner of the *gourbi* (Arab hut) you see a small heap of ashes with a mass in the middle which gives no sign of being alight; but upon this the tin pot is stuck and surrounded with ashes, and the point of the long nozzle of a pair of bellows being introduced underneath, just so much ignition as will suffice to boil the liquid, and no more, is quickly produced; the coffee is then poured into a small china cup in which a single lump of white sugar has been placed, and the fire immediately damped up with the ashes which lie around it. In forging small iron work, such as spurs, bits, and horse-shoes, equal thrift is displayed.

On the steppes south of the first range of the Atlas there are no trees of any kind, and the tribes which, for a part of the year, overspread these regions have no fuel but the dung of their own animals and the stalks of the wild artichoke, with here and there the addition of the branches of the camel-thorn. In the plains, and on the hill-tops, where the wet does not run off and where the soil is not (as on the steppes) limestone or salt sand, another plant is very common, of which the stalks are sometimes used as fuel, although the purpose for which they are chiefly employed is to form the sides of the *gourbi*. The

French call it *l'oignon sauvage*, and it covers the place where it grows with a handsome plume-like green foliage, out of which the flower rises on a stem of six feet or more in height, and in its thickest part of two inches in diameter. This, before it falls, acquires the consistency of cane; and its pith has the property of amadou.

From the ford of the Harash just described, which is called the Gué de Constantine, the French have cut a perfectly straight road across the Metidja to Rovigo, a village which lies under the Atlas, near the gorge where the river issues from the mountains. This road runs south, with a very slight variation to the west, and passes for its whole length over a part of the plain which is slightly elevated above the depressions which exist both to the east and west of its course. In the year 1839, a military camp was formed here, and another at L'Arbâ, which is likewise at the foot of the Atlas, about six miles to the east. The year after the termination of the war with Abd-el-Kader (1848), a French village was built a little to the north of the camp at Arbâ; and another road has been recently made, nearly parallel to the one just mentioned, connecting by almost as straight a course Arbâ with the Maison Carrée. Both Arbâ and Rovigo lie within the *outhan*, or circle, of Beni Moussa, the most fertile portion of the province of Algiers. The traveller, going from the former to

the latter, and continuing his journey to Blidah, would pass through the chief orange growing country of Algeria. The groves chiefly belong to the natives, who are growing gradually rich by the increasing demand for their produce, which is exported in great quantities from Algiers, both to the eastern province of Constantine and to France itself. The price of the fruit has risen considerably of late. A few years back, a franc would purchase 100 of the finest oranges in the market at Algiers, which now fetch four or five times that sum. They are much cheaper, however, at the place of production; and I suspect their dearness in Algiers arises from the astuteness of the Maltese traders, who have contrived to get into their own hands the greater part of the supply of the markets. I was engaged in taking some bearings from a point in the Atlas two or three miles from L'Arbâ, on the road to Aumale, when a Kabyle passed driving some mules. He seemed interested in my occupation, and after some conversation carried on by signs, asked me if I would buy some oranges. I held up a single sou, and he immediately put two enormous oranges into my hands, and seemed as if he would have increased the number had I demurred to the bargain. As he had bought the fruit to sell again, and was obviously more than content with his profits, it is clear that he could have paid very little for his stock. The flavour of my purchase was quite

equal to its appearance. In England we have no idea of a ripe orange; for when this state is completely attained, the fruit must be eaten speedily. When you peel it, the *thick* rind—for thin rinds belong only to imperfectly developed oranges—sends out a cloud of spirit as it cracks, and separates itself from its contents with the very least effort; the white string in the middle of the fruit comes out whole, and the segments all but fall apart from one another. The sweetness is such that no quantity of sugar could increase it, yet its acidity at once removes the sensation of thirst. When Apicius came to England to eat the Milton oysters, he ought to have returned by Africa for his dessert.

Along the sides of the road from the Gué de Constantine to Rovigo, and of that from the Maison Carrée to L'Arbâ, a good deal of cultivation is seen, and, in the latter case, of not a bad quality. The soil of the Metidja, wherever the water does not lie, is exceedingly fertile; and the Government, by carrying deep drains along the sides of the roads, and in some instances by cutting catch-water ditches in other parts, have done a good deal for the promotion of agriculture. If a semicircle be drawn from L'Arbâ as a centre with a radius of about four miles, the range of Atlas forming the chord, there is within this area apparently uninterrupted culture, with the solitary exception of a wood of wild olive trees not far from

the town.* In other parts of the route one sees cultivation here and there, and European farm-houses, showing that it is not due to the native population. But these patches are interrupted with marsh and brushwood, in the midst of which the herds of the Arabs pasture. Between the Maison Carrée and L'Arbâ, I passed two *haouches* (farms), of sedentary Arabs, and one *douar*, or encampment, of pure nomads,—the first I had ever seen. Their tents are of a dark brown colour, and are made of a mixture of camel's hair, goat's hair, and the fibres of the dwarf palm woven together. It was only a small douar, but the novelty of the sight and the picturesque appearance of a few camels browsing in the neighbourhood made it very interesting.

The town of L'Arbâ itself is chiefly inhabited by Spaniards, who are tenants of French proprietors. The persons who obtain gratuitous concessions of land rarely remain upon them. In the course of my ramble on the flanks of the Atlas I came upon a cantonnier, whose case will serve as a very fair specimen of the small African landholders. He had

* In 1857 the breadth of land sown with cereals (including peas) was, according to the official returns, 6,495 hectares, equivalent to 16,044 acres, in the whole of the Metidja and the neighbourhood of Algiers. The produce was 95,772 hectolitres, or 33,022 quarters. Of this quantity L'Arbâ contributed 30,774 hectolitres (or 10,612 qrs.) from 1822 hectares (4,502 acres). The average of the whole gives about sixteen bushels and a half to an acre; that of the neighbourhood of L'Arbâ, 18½.

served in the army, and on quitting it received an assignment of about ten acres of land, together with a building which had been used as a blockhouse. The land he made over to a Spaniard for three years, as the price of clearing it; "for you conceive, Monsieur," said he, "that I am so occupied here, that I have no time to do that sort of thing myself." I had found him smoking his pipe on the ground about a mile up the hills on the Aumale road. Two enormous ruts a foot deep gaped hard by, and the tool which he had brought ostensibly for the performance of his duties was the common mattock, which is used for getting up the stumps of the brushwood. This was stuck by his side in the grass, and no doubt had been so ever since his arrival on the scene of his labours. On my return by the same spot an hour later, I found everything *in statu quo*, except that my friend was not smoking, but lying asleep on his back. This man had been at L'Arbâ for eight years, and had had fever every summer. In the town itself I had some conversation with a French woman, who gave an even worse account of the place. She had been there, she said, for three years and six months, and had never been well, from fever in the summer, and colds in the winter. In the Rovigo diligence I found myself to be the only one of six passengers who had not had "the fever." Several had suffered from it more than once, but the first time is said to be the worst. The hos-

pital doctors at Algiers have remarked the very general prevalence of distended spleens among the patients, which they connect with this scourge,—no doubt the most formidable enemy the conquerors have had to contend with. But although the statistics of disease are very discouraging, I saw enough during my stay in the country to convince me that the climate was not wholly, if indeed chiefly, in fault. The entire neglect of even the commonest arrangements for cleanliness in the new villages would drive Mr. Chadwick frantic. In this respect Algeria under an absolute monarchy exactly resembles democratized Corcyra. The position too of the settlements has been in almost all cases originally determined by military considerations. The general type is a mamelon surrounded by a loop-holed wall, which, in the event of a revolt on the part of the natives, would be useful in carrying out strategic operations. A plentiful supply of water, an aspect which should secure the cool breeze from the sea, and be protected from the destructive scirocco, an adequate distance from pestilential marshes, are all points of vital importance to a settler; but they have rarely been regarded, and possibly could not have been regarded, in the selection of the *places d'armes*, which the return of peace converted into "centres of population." The apparent economy of utilizing buildings which already existed outweighed, as was natural, the apprehension of distant and contingent evils, especially

in the times when the expenditure of the government on its African colony supplied a formidable weapon to the opposition in the French chambers. The miserable condition of the greater part of the colonists who arrive in Africa, and in many instances their vicious habits, ought likewise to be reckoned for much. In an evil hour for the colony, it struck a French speculator that a spirit might be distilled from the root of the asphodel, a plant with which the wet portions of the country are thickly covered. He succeeded in his attempt; a vile poisonous liquor, dignified by the name of *absinthe d'Afrique*, was produced at a cheap rate, and acquired general popularity. The discoverer made a fortune, and his invention has slain more Europeans than the sword of Abd-el-Kader, and even, according to high medical authority, than the malaria of the Metidja. The most painful part of the whole affair is, that the poor Arabs are gradually perishing under this insidious enemy's influence. A bigoted adherence to the letter of their law has not saved them from the proneness to be influenced by any casuistry which flatters their passions; and many of them welcome the new invention, "which is not forbidden in the Koran," as heartily as some disciples of Father Mathew did the discovery of "a temperance lozenge."

All the landholders of Algeria do not, however, belong to the class of *concessionaires*. The lawyers who have accumulated fortunes by practising in the

courts, and the capitalists who have lent money on mortgage, succeed very often to the farm of the colonist soon after it has been brought into tolerable order; and, indeed, whenever European skill is seen applied in any great degree to the culture of the land, the latter generally turns out to belong to some one who is not a professional agriculturist. Two "model farms" in different parts of the Metidja, are the creation of a gentleman who has a high reputation as an advocate in Algiers, and who yet (as I was told) finds time, with the aid of bailiffs, to manage both of them himself. In general, however, the non-resident proprietor lets his farms on the partiarian system, providing his tenant with seed-corn and agricultural implements, and receiving as rent a certain portion of the produce, most commonly in kind. This tenure has, indeed, been introduced even into the relations between the natives and their conquerors in some parts of the colony. In the province of Constantine, between Philippeville and the capital, I saw a large breadth of land sown with corn, obviously cultivated by Arabs, and I was informed that it belonged to the *concessionaires* of a village several miles off. At Sétif, too, where as much as 50,000 acres of land were conceded to a Swiss company, in the view of introducing the Alpine dairy-farming into the country, the colonists, after a very short time, confined themselves to the cultivation of their gardens, and let their land

to the very tribe which had been dispossessed in order to make room for them. But the Metidja, from its proximity to Algiers, is naturally the locality in which professional and mercantile men seek for an investment; just as the metropolitan counties are the region in which the successful London speculator undergoes his transformation into a country gentleman. From similar causes, the proprietorship in both cases changes hands very often; and to facilitate the transfers which the revolution of the wheel of Fortune continually compels, the French Government has constructed a cadastral map of the whole of the Metidja on a scale of 1 : 40,000, which is very nearly two inches to a mile, and the sales which take place from time to time are registered with a careful reference to the position of the property on this map.

I casually made the acquaintance of an intelligent Frenchman who owned a good deal of land in the plain. He had the day before bought two new farms; and he showed me a portion of the map in which they were laid down. The *métairie* system is extremely well adapted to a country like Algeria, where the expenditure of capital by the tenant is a thing not to be dreamed of, but where, at the same time, an intelligent agriculturist without capital may enrich his landlord and himself simultaneously. The gentleman in question told me that he accidentally met

a man in a diligence, and was so much pleased with him that he put him into a farm, the occupant of which had suddenly died. He performed his part here so well, that, on another farm falling vacant, his employer added it to the first, and was then going likewise to place him over the two new purchases. I was fortunate enough to get a sight of this phœnix of a farmer, and do not wonder at the good impression which he made. He was a tall, stalwart fellow, of six feet high, as wiry and active as an American backwoodsman, but with a thoroughly honest expression in his quick grey eye. I am sorry to say his yellow cheek indicated, that although unconquered he had not been unattacked by the evil genius of the plain; and I recommended his landlord to send him a stock of quinine from Algiers.

From L'Arbâ the Metidja in the north and north-easterly directions is very low and wet, and is occupied almost exclusively by Arabs—except in the immediate vicinity of the road from the Maison Carrée to Fonduck—until the Oued Hamiz is reached. This is a river which takes its rise in the Atlas, and runs for some distance in a north-east direction; but on emerging from the hills at Fonduck it changes its course to the north-west, and falls into the sea about a couple of miles to the south of Cape Matifou.

Fonduck itself is a village built inside a loop-holed wall of about 300 yards square, with a block-house

at three out of the four corners. It lies in the angle formed by two branches of the Hamiz, and occupies the site of a large covered bazaar (*Fonduck*), where the native population used to hold a market every Thursday. The original position on which the French established themselves was a mamelon about two miles off, on the eastern side of the Hamiz. This site was found to be badly chosen, and the camp was moved, in 1842, to another mamelon, about half a mile from the present village. Here may still be seen the ruins of very extensive barracks, from which there is a commanding view. After the complete subjection of Algeria, in 1848, this place, like the camps of L'Arbâ and the Harash, was abandoned as a military post; but the importance of the position, and the capabilities of the soil in the neighbourhood, induced the Government to spend a good deal of money in establishing there "a centre of population." Nothing can be more melancholy, however, than the appearance of the village. Its population is said to have been entirely removed several times, and in the summer every one expects "the fever" as a matter of course. I should think there were not sixty houses in the whole, and of these all but three or four are mere cottages. One of the exceptions is the Mairie; for Fonduck has recently been constituted the chief town of a commune, and honoured with a mayor, agreeably to the notion of Aristotle, that the

State has a prior existence to that of the individuals which compose it.

I made the acquaintance of this worthy magistrate, who manifested a simple-minded satisfaction with his new dignity, only to be exceeded by that which a child evinces on acquiring his first cricket-bat. Nothing could be further removed from vanity than his calm complacency, his placid confidence that there he was the right man in the right place. He made me come into his house, and look at all the arrangements. One room,—the most spacious, being about ten feet by fifteen,—was being paved with glazed tiles. "Look there, Monsieur, *c'est gentil, n'est ce pas?* This is the apartment *pour les noces.* That other is my bureau—just opposite: *c'est commode;* do me the pleasure to pass into the garden: *c'est joli;* you see the almond-tree in the centre; *c'est bien gentil, ça.* Ah! there is a great deal to do here, in fact everything! but I trust I shall soon effect an improvement. My military life has given me the habitude of command. Yes, Monsieur" (this was in answer to a question of mine), "I have 4,000 *indigènes* in my commune; there is much to do in administering the law. No, I don't understand Arabic: *voici mon interprète.*" I looked with some interest at the prophet who was to communicate the oracles of Themis to the world without. His face exhibited the same good-humour as his chief's; he was bringing

home some carpenter's work for the official residence in his cart; a prime minister in a blouse!

I found to my regret that the inhabitants of this Algerian Ulubræ did not greatly participate in the sanguine hopes of their magistrate. They took me, I fancy, for some official person, as I had a small sketch-book in my hand, and hoped that they might get some advantage by representing their views. One woman begged me to come into her cottage, and asked me how people could escape illness when they lived in such a place. It was, indeed, a wretched tenement,—merely a single room without a chimney, —in fact, a tent of bricks instead of canvas. By way of remedying the defect, a large square hole was knocked under the gable, and some boards nailed over it and round it, under the idea that the smoke might perhaps pass out. But, of course, whenever the inside of the hut was warmer than the atmosphere outside, the current of air necessarily set inwards, and I could hardly stop there five minutes, although the door was open the whole time. I found that here, although all grants of land had been made to the French, the predominant population was, as at L'Arbâ, Spanish. Agricultural labour seems absolutely intolerable to the French emigrant. But the government appears determined to leave no stone unturned to make Fonduck prosper. A handsome new church is in course of building, and the *curé*, recently appointed,

was described to me as an active, intelligent young man. I visited a mixed and an infant school; and although there were only about twenty children in each, they were in excellent order. They are managed by the Sœurs Hospitalières. The mistress of the mixed school told me that many of the children were necessarily absent taking care of the cattle.

There is one particular in the French arrangements, which at Fonduck has certainly increased the despondency with which the population regard their future prospects. With the exception of a flat surface of about 200 acres, which is artificially irrigated and employed in the cultivation of tobacco, the immediate neighbourhood is not cleared; and the allotments of land which the *concessionaires* received are for the most part a mile off their habitations. This must add considerably to the fatigue—under any circumstances severe—to which the cultivator is subjected in the summer; and when exhaustion comes upon him in the midst of his work, the distance of his home is an obstacle to his readily obtaining any wholesome refreshment, and naturally he has recourse to the portable spirit-flask. The uncleared bush immediately around the village is the more striking, as, after it is passed, the land is cultivated with insignificant interruptions, for some distance on each side of the road, all the way to the Maison Carrée. In fact, the spectator who stands on the site of the

deserted camp, and looks towards Algiers, will see, perhaps, the greatest continuous extent of cultivated land furnished by one view in the whole of Algeria. His eye will pass over a surface as flat as the Cambridgeshire fens. On the road which runs quite straight to the north-west as far as the eye can see, there are two villages (the village du Midi, and the Maison Blanche, both mainly inhabited by Spaniards) and some insulated houses, and in the distance may be seen other white specks indicating European farm-houses, about as thick, I should say, as the steam-mills in the fens.

I spent about three hours in rambling about the hills in the neighbourhood of Fonduck. Here the Atlas does not rise nearly so steeply as behind L'Arbâ, and the general character of the country was not unlike that through which the traveller passes who quits the South Western Railway at the Christchurch Road Station and drives across the country to the south, if, instead of heather and firs, one substitutes dwarf palms and lentisques growing to the height of five or six feet. Among the windings of the hills I came upon several Arab villages of small size. All the *gourbis* were of straw, and the soil was cultivated in patches of twenty or forty acres each where the ground was tolerably flat. These sedentary Arabs suffer a good deal from the wild boars, which find refuge in the uncleared brushwood,

and destroy their crops while green. Every Friday (which is their Sabbath) they have a regular *battue*. Three or four hundred of them form a circle of beaters, and drive the boars into a smaller space, until at last they break cover, and afford the sportsman the chance of a shot. The day before my visit seven had been killed in this way. The Arabs will not eat the flesh themselves, but they sell the carcases to the European settlers, and a rasher from one of them furnished my breakfast. A ride of four hours had given me a good appetite, but I nevertheless found the meat extremely hard on this as on other occasions.

The Maison Carrée, or, as it was called by the Turks, Bordj el Kantra (Fort of the Bridge or Pass), is a square building which, before the French invasion, served to defend the bridge over the Harash, and also to protect the herds belonging to the State, which pastured in the marshes of the lower Harash, at that time not even partially drained. The day after the occupation of Algiers, Bourmont sent a brigade to seize this prize, and also the horses in the breeding stables of the Dey, which were in the same locality, and at Rassauta, an equally marshy district on the way to Cape Matifou. But the Bey of Constantine, who had, as in duty bound, brought his contingent to the aid of his liege lord, as soon as the advance of the French upon Bouzarieh and the attack of the Fort of the Emperor

showed that resistance was hopeless, set off to return to his own province, and swept all the cattle and horses away with him. The building is now used as a prison for Arab convicts sentenced for a longer period than a year. When I visited it there were 390 inmates; but the intendant told me that there were many more in France,—I suppose at Toulon. About 150 of them were at work, the most employed in making *crin végétal*, and some few in laying out a garden in the immediate neighbourhood of the building. The majority lie idle about the wards. At night they are kept seventy or eighty together in long rooms, which are lighted, but I did not understand that any surveillance was kept up. The moral effect of the punishment seems very questionable. During their imprisonment they pick up a little French from the soldiers who guard them; and when they are discharged, they form connexions with the worst part of the European population in the towns, by whose co-operation they become worse thieves than before. Such, at least, is the view of the officer in charge of the prison. He looked forward to the abolition of the establishment concurrently with a considerable extension of the prison at Lambessa, of which I shall speak in another place. Certainly, if physiognomy furnishes any means of judging of character, the prisoners had not improved by their detention in the Maison Carrée.

The space between the sea and the road from the Maison Carrée to Algiers, is, after the bridge of the Harash is crossed, almost throughout occupied by Maltese and Spanish market gardeners. The soil is perfectly levelled, and irrigated by the method which universally prevails wherever an Arab population has set foot, viz. the chain of buckets and the well. All parts of the apparatus are made without a particle of iron being used. The buckets are jars tied to a rope of halfa, and the parts of the wheels are kept together with wooden pegs, where nails would ordinarily be used. The mules which turn the wheel appear to continue their work without any superintendence on the part of the owner: but I suppose he is near, although invisible, and would summarily punish any cessation on the part of the poor animals from their monotonous task.

Half way to Algiers is the village of Hussein Dey, where an enormous building which was formerly a summer palace of the Algerine Deys, now serves as a magazine for tobacco, of which the Government is the sole purchaser. The road which proceeds from this point direct to Algiers was shut up for the purposes of repair at the time I was there, and the traffic passed by another which runs westwards for about a mile, and joins the Algiers and Kouba road at the "Ruisseau" mentioned above.

CHAPTER VI.

THE most important inland town in the central province of Algeria is Blidah, which lies at the foot of the Atlas, about thirty-three miles from Algiers, in a south-west by south direction. The intercourse with it is so great that three diligences run in the day, some by the El Biar and Douera road, and others by that which passes through Mustapha and Birkadem. All, however, pass through Les Quatre Chemins. The first important place traversed is Bouffarik (Father of separation), a name given to a slight elevation in the midst of swamps, where at the time of the French invasion a large cattle market used to be held, frequented by Arabs from all parts of the plain. This is now resumed under French superintendence. The market-day is Monday, when several thousands of Arabs may be seen collected together in a large enclosure to the east of the road, a little beyond the town of Bouffarik. In the middle is a caravanserai, and accommodation for the officials who register the sales, —an important regulation in a country where cattle-

lifting has begun to be considered a dangerous pursuit, but has scarcely ceased to be regarded as a creditable one. Enormous quantities of sheep, cattle, mules, and horses are collected in the enclosure; but, on the day I was there, I did not see a single camel among them.

When the French first obtained a footing on the south side of the Metidja, there was a considerable breadth of wood covering the country to the north of Bouffarik, and the facility which this and the marshes afforded the natives for menacing the communications between Algiers and Blidah, rendered it a matter of vital importance to remove it. In the year 1833, the desired result was brought about, chiefly by the agency of the Arabs themselves, over whom a young French officer, whose name has since become well known throughout Europe, had contrived to gain great influence. Lamoricière, then captain of a battalion of Zouaves, was the first Frenchman who conceived the idea of gaining the confidence of the tribes. Trusting to his knowledge of the language and his tact, he ventured among the Arabs of the then unsubdued Metidja without any escort; and under his auspices a separate department of administration was formed, which, under the name of the Bureau Arabe, subsequently expanded into the machinery by which the invaders have solved the problem of governing the native population of the whole of their acquisi-

tions. He himself was the first head of the new office, and his staff consisted only of a couple of French officers and three native interpreters. The woods of Bouffarik were felled, and the swamps partially drained, by the assistance rendered by friendly chiefs; and the route to Blidah thus effectually secured. European traders even ventured to frequent the Arab markets; but this step seems to have been a little premature. The appearance of the strangers excited ill will, and it became necessary to establish a fortified camp in the neighbourhood, to protect them against sudden acts of violence. For this purpose the Count d'Erlon built a square work in the immediate vicinity of Bouffarik, and furnished it with defences which effectually guaranteed its safety against the attack of any enemy. He was, however, unable to secure the garrison against a much more formidable foe, the pestilential exhalations of the surrounding swamps; and the Camp d'Erlon, as it was called from the governor under whose auspices it had been constructed, acquired the sobriquet of La Cimitière. About four miles beyond Bouffarik, Marshal Bugeaud attempted to form a military colony in an even more inauspicious locality, at Bene Mered. This is much lower than Bouffarik, and more unhealthy; but its position on the main road into the interior, and its plentiful supply of water (for a strong spring rises in the middle of the village), tempt a few French to settle there in spite of the

danger. Over the spring a handsome monument in the form of an obelisk is erected, to the memory of twenty-two soldiers, who, in the revolt of 1842, were surprised there by ten times their number of Arab horsemen. They succeeded in resisting the attack until relieved; but only five of their number survived.

Blidah is said to have had a population of 18,000 a few years before the French invasion. But in 1825 it was entirely destroyed by an earthquake, in which half its inhabitants perished. The panic-stricken survivors at first deserted the locality, with the intention of forming a new settlement farther to the north; but they soon returned to their ancient haunts, unwilling to forsake a spot to which they had been accustomed, and which enjoys the advantages of an ample supply of water and a fertile soil, to an extent unsurpassed by any other town in Algeria. The native population is now under 4,000, having been reduced to that extent by the miseries of war in the first eight years of the French occupation. The town has been almost entirely rebuilt, with rectangular streets and European houses. The immediate neighbourhood is covered with orange and lemon groves, and is a very favourable locality for tobacco, of which the cultivation has lately made great strides. I was told that some land in the vicinity of the town in which this plant was grown paid a rent of 300 francs the hectare (or £4 16*s.* the acre). This, however, was under peculiarly

favourable circumstances for irrigation. What is especially desired is a soil of a light sandy gravel, and an unlimited supply of water. When these two conditions are secured, the hectare sometimes produces to the amount of more than 2,000 francs. The expense of cultivation (including irrigation) is estimated at about 1,000 francs the hectare. The leaves of the plant, where the cultivation succeeds best, are stripped three times in the year. It may be easily conceived that the French are attracted by the advantages of a place which enables them to gratify their desire of acquiring a proprietorship in land without submitting to the irksomeness of agricultural labour. Blidah is almost more French than Algiers itself, and has its theatre, hotels, cafés, and all other appliances of enjoyment which make up the bourgeois' notion of civilisation. The markets within the walls are well supplied with meat, fruit, and vegetables by the Arabs of the neighbourhood; and there is besides a weekly market held every Friday outside the town for the purposes of general traffic between the natives and the Europeans.

From Blidah the road into the interior takes a turn towards the west, and descends in that direction for six or seven miles until it reaches the Chiffa, up the gorge of which the present road to Médéah is carried. For the next twelve or fourteen miles after the ascent commences, nothing can be imagined more romantic

than the route. The scenery is something between that of Herefordshire and North Wales, the colouring of the sandstone rock and the rich vegetation reminding one of the former, and the precipitous character of the mountain forms of the latter. Wherever there is sufficiently flat space for trees to take root, the ravines are richly wooded; but in most parts there is room for only the lentisque. The narrowest part of the gorge is just above a post station where a little brook, called the Ruisseau des Singes from the large number of monkeys which haunt it, falls into the Chiffa. Here the perpendicular walls of rock are a very few yards apart, and it requires some nerve to sit in a carriage while passing along the narrow road which overhangs the abyss below; although, as the horses which draw you wear no blinkers, you have an additional security for yourself in their natural instincts. Still, one wishes for a parapet, which is in general dispensed with, as its existence would involve the widening the road, and the extreme steepness of the rocks necessitates the removal of many tons of their sides for every additional inch of road-way. The greatest danger, however, arises not from the narrowness of the route, but from the softness of the rock out of which it is cut. Long after rain, streamlets spring here and there from the sides of the cutting, and it is no easy matter to dispose of these, and get them across the twenty feet or so which intervene between the bottom of the

cliff from which they issue and the ravine, without their doing mischief by the way. After every shower, in spite of all provision which has been made, the margin of the road is full of large notches cut by the running waters, like those which the knife of an idle school-boy leaves in the edge of his desk. The cantonniers are on the look-out for these gaps, and build them up with a pile of large flat stones, which are soon ground into a condition of stability by the passing traffic. Some rain had fallen the night before I left Médéah, and the wheels of the coach, while descending the terraces of the gorge, passed over several of these corbel-like patches where two days before the road had been apparently quite sound. If there were to be any remission of diligence on the part of the watchers, the most fearful accidents might happen, and no intelligence of the particulars would reach the world. Down would go horses, carriage, and traveller, into the bed of the Chiffa, far away from any European habitation. In the course of the day, some Arab fishermen or shepherds would perhaps light upon the wreck, when in their quiet impassive way they would collect the fragments of harness and ironwork, with the remark "Allah kerim" (God is merciful), and leave the mutilated corpses to be devoured by the jackals.

On leaving the gorge of the Chiffa, carobs, almond trees, and wild olives of great size are seen. After quitting the valley of the river altogether, the road

continues to ascend in a general westerly direction, and attains its highest point about half a mile before arriving at Médéah. I estimated the *col* over which we passed at about 2,961 feet above the level of the sea, and 2,490 above Blidah. Soon after leaving the valley of the Chiffa, at about 1,900 feet above the sea level, the soil assumes a rather mud-like character, and continues to present this appearance for nearly a mile. I observed the same phenomenon on the way from Oran to Maskara, in the western province, at nearly the same height above the sea, and apparently of about the same thickness, viz. 150 or 160 feet. It also appeared on the road into Great Kabylie, but at a much lower elevation, viz. not more than 850 feet. I was told, in the case of that at Maskara, that the soil was considerably impregnated with salt. This I had no means of ascertaining; to the eye the appearance was that of simple mud, exactly like the deposit through which the South-Eastern Railway is carried in the neighbourhood of New Cross, the loose texture of which caused an accident on a large scale when the line was first opened, and necessitated the expenditure of much money to prevent a recurrence of the mischief.

Médéah, which is placed just on the southern incline of the first ridge of the Atlas, is a military position of considerable importance to the conquerors. They have occupied it permanently since 1840; but it

had been in their hands three times before. The events of that year and of 1839 showed that, so long as it remained under the Arabs, there could be no permanent security for the settlers in the Metidja, or even for those in the Phaz of Algiers. On the 2d of November, 1839, the Duke d'Orleans entered Algiers at the head of an army which, under the guidance of Marshal Valée, had perfqrmed the feat of marching from Constantine by land, through the pass of the Biban, or Iron Gates. This exploit was only intended, like the fortification of Paris by M. Guizot, "faire un effet moral," and it was achieved by the co-operation of the commandant of Bougie, who had been instructed to make some movements to draw upon himself the attention of the native tribes that would otherwise have opposed the transit of the army. But although the success was as empty as that of the celebrated German campaign of Caligula, the enthusiasm was as great. The whole of the soldiers were feasted in public on the esplanade of the Bab-el-Oued; the conquest of Algeria was proclaimed complete; a palm branch, plucked (as was said) at the gorge of the pass, was presented in the name of the army to the Duke; and the official newspapers declared that the time of difficulty was at last at an end, and France about to receive the glorious recompense of her labours. The Duke returned to Paris at the conclusion of these festivities, and three days after-

wards, on the 10th of November, the war broke out, which in a couple of months swept every European settler out of the Metidja, and obliged the French to draw in their outposts, and devote all their strength to the maintaining four fortified camps,* the communication of which with one another and with Algiers was continually interrupted. The plain was invaded simultaneously from the east, west, and south. In the first-mentioned quarter, the Kabyles, keeping the forts of Fonduck and Kara-Mustapha blockaded, advanced as far as Birkadem and the Jardin d'Essai. Blidah was so distressed for want of provisions, that many of the native inhabitants, although well affected to the French, were expelled from the town, as the sole alternative of their dying of hunger. In the spring of 1840 the French had collected a sufficient force to resume the offensive, and on the 12th of May a pitched battle with Abd-el-Kader resulted in giving them the possession of Médéah, which they entered on the 17th, and found deserted of all its inhabitants. The present town is almost entirely new. It consists of extensive barracks, a military hospital, which makes up about 500 beds, and a few houses, the whole surrounded by a loop-hole *enceinte*. The ancient aqueduct which supplied the town with water still exists, but it is the only

* These were L'Arbâ, Blidah, Fonduck, and Kara-Mustapha, about four miles to the east-north-east of Fonduck.

monument of the former importance of the place. The view from the walls is extremely beautiful. Magnificent mountains form the frame of the picture, on one of which may be seen Milianah, likewise an important military position. This may be easily reached in a day on horseback; but there is no road practicable for a carriage, although there is one direct from Blidah.

I found very comfortable quarters at the Hotel du Gastronome, the only establishment of the kind in the town; and the next day set off to see the copper mines at Mouzaia, an establishment in the heart of the Atlas, about eight miles off. The route for two-thirds of the way is the same which formerly was the only communication between Médéah and the plain of the Metidja. It passes westward along the north side of the amphitheatre in which Médéah lies, at rather a higher level than the town, and affords a magnificent view of a sea of mountains on the left hand. After a while, the descent on Mouzaia begins. It is in a plain surrounded by hills; and in its immediate neighbourhood the rotten dirt-like earth noticed above again takes the place of the sandstone and limestone which elsewhere characterise the Atlas. The establishment consists of about 150 workmen, many of whom have their wives and families with them, in the aggregate about 400 souls. They all live in a fortified building, loop-holed; for

at the first beginning of the undertaking (in 1846) they were several times attacked by the Arabs, who indeed succeeded in destroying an outlying building rather nearer to the northern crest of the Atlas, the ruins of which remain. This state of things is, however, now past; there is no longer any garrison at the works, and the state of the walls indicates a belief that security is perfect. The worst enemy that remains is the fever in the summer-time. All the workmen who receive six francs a day or more pay one franc into a fund, from which when sick they are allowed two francs a day. There is a little chapel, and a resident priest to serve it, a school conducted by three Sœurs Hospitalières, an infirmary, and a doctor; but grave cases of sickness are sent to the hospital at Médéah. The workmen are almost all foreigners, chiefly Piedmontese. Next in number come the Spaniards, and there are also a few Germans. The married people with families are allowed two rooms, but the single men live three or four together in one. I went into one in which there were three Frenchmen; and another which belonged to a married German. This man's wife was so pleased at my addressing her in her native tongue, that she insisted on my sitting down to drink a glass of wine. While she went out to wash a glass, another female came in and sat down. Not knowing who she was, I told her in French that

the owner of the apartment had just gone out, when she said, "O, Sir, pray don't speak to me in French: let me hear the language of my fatherland!" The same feeling brought three other Germans to shake hands with me as I got on my horse to go away. One, a very strong hale-looking young man, told me he had been there three months, and in one of these had earned 400 francs. My hostess had before said that some only made three francs a day. The explanation of these different accounts seems to be, that the payment is by the piece; and probably the unfortunate persons referred to had had fever and lost their strength, while the young man, having arrived in the winter, had as yet not experienced this misfortune. He told me that he had served three years as a soldier in Berlin, and had seen a good deal of other parts of the world. He did not think he should remain long in Africa.

The copper ore obtained in these mines is smelted on the spot, and conveyed on the back of mules to Médéah. It is from thence carted to Algiers, and there shipped, chiefly (as I was told) to England, to the amount of 2,000 tons annually. Each ton of ore contains from 500 to 600 grammes of silver, but no appreciable quantity of gold.

I was desirous of visiting the Teniat (defile), as the pass over the mountains is called by which the old road from the Metidja ran; and to do this, it was

requisite to have the escort of a native. The kindness of the manager of the works procured me the company of an Arab, who, in spite of his mean appearance and the yet more miserable condition of his horse, was, I imagine, a man of some distinction; for all whom we met on the way kissed his hand with great respect, except one proud-looking fellow, who reciprocated a salute on the cheek.

I was told it would take two hours to mount to the Teniat, but we performed the distance really in little more than an hour. This is the position which Abd-el-Kader occupied in the battle which has been referred to; and he all but succeeded in holding it. He had placed several guns in commanding situations, and the ascent is so steep that the French had, in many parts, to employ their hands in climbing, and not an officer up to the general remained on horseback. The original intention of Marshal Valée had been to penetrate the mountains by way of Milianah; but the Emir, by a series of manœuvres, the skill and courage of which called forth the admiration of the French officers, succeeded in turning him to this pass, where preparations had been made for receiving him, and where the Arabs were assured by their chief that the whole army of the invaders would find their graves. His expectations were nearly realized. The bulk of the French army was composed of young soldiers; but, fortunately, the general adopted the

precaution of placing veterans in the heads of his columns, and this wise measure saved the day. The generals Changarnier and Lamoricière, then colonels, greatly distinguished themselves on this occasion. The latter led one of the attacking columns.

The construction of the new road to Médéah through the valley of the Chiffa, has, as in all similar cases, been fatal to the old one over the Teniat, which has been let go out of repair, although for some time after the occupation of Médéah it was kept up in a condition which admitted of the passage of artillery. So soft is the soil, and so violent the rains, that even already it is, in some places, almost washed away. No one uses it but the Arabs with their mules; but they, the most obstinate conservatives on the face of the earth, persist in preferring it to the new route.

From the summit of the pass the view over the Metidja is slightly limited on the western side by the projecting buttresses of the Atlas; but towards the north-east the whole extent of the Sahel as far as the Maison Carrée lies directly before the spectator. Behind the Sahel is the sea; and, in the extreme distance to the right, the lower ranges of the Atlas, which beyond Fonduck take a northerly direction, and constitute the western bank of the valley of the Boudouaou. This part is thickly covered with wood, and, more than almost any other portion of Algeria, the haunt of wild beasts. But in the midst of the

vast expanse, where the traces of men are so slight, the eye is attracted by an object bespeaking an altogether different order of things. This is a conical pyramid, standing on the highest part of the Sahel, which even from that distance indicates that it must have been raised by the hand of man, and formed of a material of a more durable character than the ordinary soil of the hills. It goes among the natives by the name of Khober-el-Roumiyeh, "Tomb of the Roman woman," (or, the "Christian woman,") and appears on the charts under that of "Tombeau de la Reine." Shaw says that, in his time, the Turks called it Maltapasi (the Treasure of the Sugar-loaf). There can be no doubt, however, that it is really an old Mauritanian work, the same which a Roman geographer* terms "the common monument of the royal family," and that it was erected by the same people and for the same purposes as another tumulus in the province of Constantine that the French have christened "the tomb of Syphax," which is in a far better state of preservation, and which will be described

* Mela, *De situ orbis*, i. 6. 10. The commentators, with the exception of Perizonius, have made sad confusion of this passage, which, as it stands in the MSS., is perfectly lucid to any one who sails along the coast, as the writer tacitly assumes, from west to east. "*Urbium quas habet* [Numidia] *maximæ sunt, Cirta procul a mari . . . . . Iol ad mare, aliquando ignobilis, nunc quia Jubæ regia fuit et quod Cæsarea vocitatur, illustris.* CITRA *hanc, (nam in medio ferme littore sita est,) Cartinna et Arsinna sunt oppida et Quiza castellum et Laturus sinus et Sardabale fluvius:* ULTRA, *Monumentum commune regiæ gentis, deinde Icosium et Ruthisia urbes, et fluentes inter eas Aveus et Nabar,*" &c.

in another chapter. The "Tombeau de la Reine," however, has the advantage of the other monument as regards its situation, which is incomparable for the object designed. The crest of the Sahel, in the part where it stands, rises considerably above the general level, and for many miles out at sea the "tomb" forms the best of landmarks. It may be seen also from many parts of the plain of the Metidja, and from the whole of the northern crest of the Atlas. The best land view of all is that from the cemetery at Blidah, from which it bears west-north-west. It is a truncated cone on a cylindrical base, built of a fine limestone. Shaw estimated the diameter of the base at ninety feet, and the height of the monument at a hundred; but he is so inaccurate as regards its figure, that I should be inclined to place little dependence on these numbers. The cylindrical base is certainly not more than one-fourth the height of the whole, but Shaw makes it one-half. Neither is it easy to believe that the diameter of the base is less than the altitude of the whole, although it certainly does not exceed it in so great a proportion as is the case with the "tomb of Syphax."

It had been my intention, immediately on returning from the visit to Médéah, to proceed by sea to Philippeville, and devote the remainder of my time to a tour in the interior of the province of Constantine, —far the richest of the three in Roman remains.

Accidental circumstances, however, caused the delay of a steamer in which I had taken a berth, and I found that I had four clear days to spare before embarking. I had often before, from the flat roof of my hotel in Algiers, admired the Djerjera with its snow-clad peaks, and felt a great desire to see something of the hardy race inhabiting its valleys, the complete subjection of which to France had been the work of only the last year. The weather—it was now the last week of March—had become fine and settled, and an enterprising inhabitant of Algiers determined to take advantage of the new military road which had just been completed, to run a diligence into the heart of Great Kabylie. This was advertised to go as far as Tizi-Ouzou in a single day, and I calculated that, in the event of the promise being realized, I should be able to visit both Dellys, the port of Kabylie, and Fort Napoleon, the military key of the country, and return to Algiers in time to take the steamboat for the eastern province. My kind friend, the Vicomte Fénélon, assured me that I should never get to Tizi-Ouzou by the diligence in a day, or probably at all; but I determined to try my chance, and, fortified with letters from him to the commandant at Tizi-Ouzou, I set off at five o'clock in the morning, in a vehicle something like a low break covered with a canvas hood.

We left Algiers by the road to the Maison Carrée,

and crossed the Metidja by an excellent road running about east by north to the low hills which intervene between Fonduck and the sea. For the seven or eight miles after leaving the Maison Carrée, the cultivation of corn is continuous on both sides of the road, which here passes along a comparatively elevated strip. But from Ruiba, a village situated on the road about seventeen miles from Algiers, the country begins to be under tillage only in spots here and there, and its general appearance is that of a vast flat covered with asphodel and wild artichoke, and studded with brushwood. The road gradually descends from this point to the bridge of the Reghaija, one of the sluggish brooks of the Metidja which struggle northwards to the sea, turning the soil in their neighbourhood into marsh. The Reghaija is here but little above the sea-level; but the road at once begins again to ascend, and in three or four miles reaches an elevation of 160 or 170 feet, when a descent again commences through low hills, over which the brushwood is extremely thick, to the new village of Alma in the valley of the Boudouaou. This river is considered the boundary of the Metidja to the eastward. The bridge of the Boudouaou I estimated at about thirty-five feet above the sea-level, and between seventy and eighty below the village. Just after crossing it we stopped for breakfast, an affair of nearly two hours, as the horses which had brought us from the Maison

Carrée had to be fed and rested, to enable them to resume their course. I had here an opportunity of making the acquaintance of my fellow-travellers. Two of them were the wives of French officers going to join their husbands in Kabylie, and a third that of a colonist in the same country, of a lower class. Besides these was a young German nobleman, with a Russian tutor, who was about to make a tour in the same region. I thought he was going on a shooting excursion, as he carried a double-barrelled gun in his hand; but he told me that he only did this on account of the character of the country, thinking it well to appear armed among such a population.

Between the descent upon the Boudouaou and the neighbourhood of the Isser, the country for the space of fifteen or twenty miles is a good deal infested with wild beasts, and the Arabs and colonists sometimes lose their cattle. This intelligence seemed to cause some discomfort to the German, which was increased by one of the ladies informing him that a lion had been seen in the middle of the day about a fortnight before, after having killed two cows belonging to a neighbouring douair. Panthers are also found in the locality,—an animal much more dreaded than the lion by the natives. We saw, however, neither these nor any other beast of prey; nor, indeed, any indication of their existence, except it were some bones apparently belonging to a slaughtered ox,

which seemed as if they had been gnawed by jackals.

The road continues with a gentle rise and fall through a thickly-wooded country, until after passing a *col* of a few hundred feet above the sea-level, thirty-seven miles distant from Algiers; when the descent into the valley of the Isser, the frontier of Kabylie, commences, and the wood begins to be more sparse and at last to fail altogether. The region through which the Reghaija, the Boudouaou, and the Oued Corso (another small river between the Boudouaou and the Isser) flow, comprises the *outhan* (or circle) of Khachna. On arriving at the Isser, we found that it was the day of the weekly market, and had we been earlier, should probably have seen several thousands of the natives collected in a large open space on the eastern bank of the river; but it was nearly four o'clock in the afternoon, and the greater part of the crowd had already dispersed. Others were mounting their horses and mules to make the best of their way home. The French have built a caravanserai here, for the convenience of the officers and other travellers whose business may take them into Kabylie; and three of my fellow-travellers,—the German with his companion, and one of the ladies,—stopped at it. I went on with the remaining two as far as Zib Zamoun, another caravanserai where we were to pass the night, and where (as I had been forewarned) it

became necessary to exchange the carriage for a seat on a horse or mule. Except for the herds of cattle which cover it, nothing could be more dreary than the face of the country for some miles beyond the Isser. It presents the appearance of large marshy plains covered with dwarf-palm and the plants which love wet soils, especially the asphodel, which fills the air with a smell no less powerful and even more disagreeable than that which proceeds from the turnip fields of Norfolk. It was at this time in full flower. The road through the plain was extremely bad, and we were all obliged to get out several times to enable the horses to extricate the vehicle from the ruts in which it had stuck. At one time I despaired of getting on any farther; but with the assistance of some natives in raising one of the wheels, and an energetic appeal, both by word and whip, to the struggling horses, we succeeded in scrambling out of our prison, and reached Zib Zamoun about an hour before sunset.

I had learnt before setting out in the morning, that the idea of proceeding as far as Tizi-Ouzou on wheels had been renounced; but I still hoped that, if we had arrived tolerably early at Zib Zamoun, I might have been able to obtain horses to proceed onwards at once. But this now was impossible, and I made up my mind to pass the night in the caravanserai, and set off, if I could obtain the

means, an hour before daybreak. The caravanserais of Algeria are generally large squares or oblongs, adapted for defence, in case of necessity, against any attack of the natives. The quadrangle is entered by only one door in the loop-holed wall. Inside there is a certain amount of shed for merchandise and horses belonging to travellers, or for the common soldiers; and in the open space in the middle there lie mules, asses, and camels. The *gardien* of the caravanserai is allowed to receive guests like the landlord of an hotel, reserving only two or three rooms for the use of the military officers who may be on their way to join their posts. When they accompany troops who pass the night in bivouack, they have no claim to this accommodation. The other apartments are filled with beds, four or five in one room, and the accommodation is of the roughest kind. You get sheets, but not water unless you ask for it. In fact, the description which was given to me before I quitted Algiers exhausts the subject. *On a un abri, et même quelque chose à manger, et l'on n'est pas volé: voilà tout.* The doors do not fasten, and I was making up my mind to pass the night in my cloak on one of four beds, with my writing-case under my head, in the uncertainty of who might be the tenants of the others, when I fortunately met with a French officer, the colonel commanding the regiment of Dellys, who, on finding that I was the

bearer of a letter of introduction to the commandant of Tizi-Ouzou, courteously asked me to dine with himself and another official, the intendant of Dellys; and induced the "gardien" to put me into a separate room containing only two beds. The second of these was occupied by the colonel's orderly, who was not allowed to enter the apartment until I might reasonably be supposed to be asleep, and vacated it the next morning before the hour at which I intended to rise. But though the politeness of these gentlemen procured me an excellent dinner and comparatively comfortable quarters, I passed a wretched night. The noise of the horses munching their barley or whinnying to one another, of camels growling, and soldiers talking, woke me as soon as ever I closed my eyes, and I rose before daybreak with a headache and more tired than when I lay down.

We set out from Zib Zamoun in a regular caravan. I had agreed overnight to give an Arab a couple of francs more than the usual tariff for a mule, on condition that we should start not later than half-past five; but when morning arrived, I found that although the mule was brought, the guide was not forthcoming, and he did not make his appearance until an hour later, when the rest of the party who intended proceeding into Kabylie were ready. At last the cavalcade issued out of the gate of the caravanserai; the two French women and myself on three mules,

a Jew pedlar with his wares on a fourth, next five packhorses loaded with merchandise, also belonging to the Jew, then three asses, each with a Kabyle behind him, loaded with corn and oil jars. Presently we were joined by four camels, but these after a time turned off on another track. Zib Zamoun caravanserai is situated nearly at the top of the *col* which separates the valley of the Isser from that of the Sebaou, the principal stream of Kabylie; and within a mile the road began to descend, in terraces along the side of the mountain, to the level of the latter river. The soil is extremely soft and rotten; and although there had not been rain for some days, we got on very slowly. The holes made by the feet of the baggage animals a few days back remained, partially hardened; and every minute I expected my mule to break her legs by treading into some of these, until we got down to the level of the river. The present road into Kabylie pursues the left bank, not crossing it as the old one (which alone appears on the maps) did at the Borj-Sebaou. Two small streams, which are forded, fall into the Sebaou from the southern side. After a while we left the river and struck inland in a south-easterly direction, and soon after Tizi-Ouzou (hill of the prickly broom) appeared in view. Its position is highly picturesque. The river Sebaou, after descending from the high mountains in the south of Kabylie, makes a kind of

loop from east to west northwards. This bend is caused by a mountain of 1,200 or 1,300 feet high, which is joined to the hills lying south of it by a low narrow neck; and it is on a mamelon rising out of this neck that the fort of Tizi-Ouzou stands. From its walls one has a charming view of the river, both before it vanishes behind the hill and after its reappearance, according as one looks to the east or the west. Northwards is the elevation which forms the peninsula, and to the south and the south-east higher mountains still, the latter being the snow peaks of Djerjera, the most lofty summits in North Africa, except some in the Aurès.

The day proved extremely sultry and my mule very sluggish, and the discomfort from these causes was increased by having only the common Arab *barre*, or packsaddle, to sit upon. The muleteer continually left his charge in order to chatter with the Kabyles, and then I could not avoid falling into the rear of the procession. At last I discovered that the words "Ah! ye brute!" pronounced in an angry tone and with as much of the guttural as my south-country mouth could compass, was not a bad imitation of the Arab interjection used for stimulating baggage-animals. I applied them with considerable success for a league or two, when the cunning creature discovered the imposition, and heard the appeal with perfect composure. Beating produced no effect what-

ever; and the projecting " barre " hindered the application of spurs. The only experiment which did not entirely fail was tickling the shoulder of the animal with a small piece of stick, which, I suspect, was imagined to be a fly.

From the moment of arriving on the banks of the Sebaou, it became plain that the land was cultivated by very much better farmers than the Arabs. The Kabyles are extremely industrious, and their crops were almost as clean as those in the eastern counties. There was a great breadth of land under cultivation; and the extreme fertility of the soil prevents the necessity of doing more than ploughing a few inches deep. The Kabyle at his plough is exactly represented by the figures in the old bas-reliefs; and the instrument itself is constructed precisely as Virgil teaches. There is not a particle of iron about it except the tip of the share; and it is so light, that the owner may be constantly seen carrying the whole except the yoke, and sometimes that too, home on his shoulders. The oxen are of very low stature, something like the Breton breed, and the agriculturist holds the single handle of the plough with his right hand while he guides them with a long stick stretched out in his left. We passed by one or two Kabyle villages, and saw some others on the mountains which bound the valley of the Sebaou to the south. Mountains close in both sides of the valley, in many places well cul-

tivated and wooded. The scenery is about on the same scale as that of the vale of Newlands, near Keswick. The huts of the natives are built of stone and thatched, without any chimney, but still of rather a superior order to the *gourbis* of the agricultural Arabs. Each has in general a very small bit of garden attached to it, surrounded by a fence of dry camel-thorn, so low that it can be useful only as a symbol. I saw no cultivation except of cereals and prickly pear; but the soil is well adapted for fruit-trees, and, higher up in the mountains, for vines.

The Jew who was of our party had been a camp follower of the expeditions under Marshal Bugeaud in 1844 and 1846, and pointed out to me the scene of a feat of the French troops in the former of those years, when, by scaling the heights at break of day, several Kabyle villages were surprised and destroyed. The subjugation of the country was to a great extent achieved by Marshal Bugeaud, before his retirement to make room for the Duke d'Aumale as Governor-General. But on the fall of the Orleans dynasty new troubles arose; and the final submission of the whole of Kabylie did not take place till 1857, when the Beni-Raten, the tribe which last retained its independence, acknowledged the supremacy of the conquerors. A week after this event took place, Colonel Lallemont, the commandant at Tizi-Ouzou, adopting the policy which had been initiated by Lamoricière

twenty years before, attended one of the great markets of the tribe without arms, and accompanied by only a single orderly. Fort Napoleon, by which the French have clinched the conquest of the country, is built on the site of one of these places of gathering, called Souk-el-Arbâ, or simply l'Arbâ (Wednesday), from the day of the week on which the market is held. It is about four leagues to the eastward of Tizi-Ouzou, and Dellys is nearly the same distance to the north.

At Tizi-Ouzou, the market-day is Saturday; and I was fortunate enough to arrive when the crowd was the thickest. About half a mile from the fort three or four thousand people were collected in a small plain, to which the hills slope down on every side, backed at a greater distance by others of considerable elevation. The greater part of the company were Kabyles, distinguishable from the Arabs by rarely wearing the bournous, and by being in many instances bareheaded and barefooted. On the lower hills was picketed a crowd of horses, mules, asses, and camels, while the owners transacted their business in the plain. In this there appeared a great many *tentes d'abri*,—which the French have adopted from the natives,—filled with wares of iron, tin, crockery, cotton, and silk. Some were stuffed with people lying down for rest after the fatigues of the journey. Cattle were standing about for sale, mules lying down, often stretched on their sides with their legs tied.

Everybody seemed busy talking and chaffering. In the midst, several spahis attached to the Bureau Arabe were riding up and down, to keep order, and nip in the bud any disturbance. This jurisdiction seems to be quite popular with the natives. I saw a group of fellows with a mule that had a twisted joint, which was obviously an occasion of strife. All shouted with one accord "Au bureau! au bureau!"—probably the only French words they knew; and undoubtedly the rough, summary, costless way of administering justice by that machinery is a great boon to them. An accidental circumstance put me in the position of an arbitrator. One man had found a napoleon, and did not know what to do with it without consulting some European authority. The heat of the sun had induced me to roll a white haik round and over my black hat; and I afterwards found that this headdress caused me to be regarded as a Frank marabout. Accordingly the coin was brought and offered to me, not altogether to the satisfaction of a companion of the possessor, who when I took it in my hands obviously expected me at once to duck under the crowd, and make off with the prize. By the help of signs I endeavoured to explain to the man the value of the piece of gold, and his own right to it; and I hope my decision was not at variance with the Kabyle law of treasure-trove. It certainly had one merit in a judgment,—that of satisfying the parties concerned.

The intense heat had produced the appearance of a gathering storm towards the middle of the day, and as it grew later, low thunder began to growl among the mountains, and clouds to collect about their tops. It was plain I must resign the project of going on either to Dellys or Fort Napoleon; which otherwise the kindness of Colonel Lallemont would have enabled me to achieve, as he at once placed horses and a spahi at my disposal. The spahis of Tizi-Ouzou are a body which existed in the Turkish times. They hold the plain by military service, and were originally composed of adventurers from all countries. The French give them a red bournous, and when they are actively employed a small daily pay; and their allotments of land enable them to maintain themselves in comfort and respectability. Here one has an excellent illustration of the feudal tenures of mediæval Europe. The spahi is in every respect the *miles* of the Norman conquerors of England; and if the French possession of Algeria should be consolidated, the descent of the land which is held on this tenure may in time give rise to some of the peculiarities which existed in the English common law.

Before leaving Tizi-Ouzou I walked up to the fort to take leave of the commandant, and there found my German and Russian travelling companions whom I had left at the Isser. The former had taken his double-barrelled gun out of its case, having arrived in

the country where he expected it might be useful; and, although I have no doubt the vigorous government of the French enabled him to travel as safely as I did myself, the weapon must have proved a terrible temptation to the Kabyles, who would perfectly appreciate its beautiful finish, which was striking even to an European. Unfortunately for the comfort of its owner, news had just been brought of a disturbance in the mountains between two tribes, which necessitated the interference of the troops, and cost a few lives. These, however, were sacrificed (as I heard) in the quarrel, not in the means adopted for putting it down. The fact is, that the internal government of Kabyle tribes is a pure democracy; and "difficulties" which arise in the markets or elsewhere, are settled very much in the way they are in the more remote parts of the United States.

The Kabyles are at the present time an altogether mixed race; but beyond all doubt the nucleus of this is the aboriginal population which the Greeks found in Africa nearly three thousand years ago, and which were described, as some parts of them are at this day, by a name that in a Greek mouth became the word "barbarous." In their purest state they exist in the Aurès mountains near Batna, in the hills above Bona, in the mountain region south of Boujie, and in the rugged cliffs of the Djerjera; in fact, in exactly those parts of the country which are most inaccessible, and

would afford the best refuge from the conquering races which one after another have overspread the north of Africa. They are also found in some parts of the empire of Morocco, and about eight or ten days' journey to the south of Maskara, in the western province of Algeria. In these localities the sands of the desert would supply the same shelter which was furnished by the steep mountains of the north. The nomads in the plains of Morocco are said to call themselves Berbers, and to give the name of Chulups to the stationary inhabitants of the hills belonging to the same race; but in the mountains of Algiers and Tunis the name by which they go generically is that of Kabyles. They, however, only designate themselves by the name of the special tribe to which they belong, as the Beni-Raten, the Flissa, the Beni-Abbès; just as the Scotch highlanders called themselves Campbells or Gordons.* Their languages differ to a considerable extent, as the dialects of Lancashire and Sussex may do, but they all are able to understand one another. In those parts of the country where they have been brought into a closer contact with other races, both the language and the blood is more mixed, the one by the adoption of foreign words,† and the other by their numbers having been recruited, for a series of generations, by refugee slaves from their more powerful

* The hill-tribes, however, speak of themselves and one another as "Temazirght," *i. e.* "freemen."

† See the note at the end of this chapter.

neighbours. In proportion as the power of these waned, the Kabyles extended their settlements, and moved down into the plains about their mountain fortresses, or up into the hill country surrounding the desert. Seven or eight centuries ago, a powerful confederation of the Kabyle tribes existed, extending from Boujie to Algiers, and covering a considerable portion of the Metidja. The Hadjoutes, which the French on their arrival found to the west of the Mazafran, are also a Kabyle tribe. The characteristics of the race very much resemble those of the Swiss. They are brave, hardy, vindictive, utterly fearless of death, and above all things jealous of their independence. When they go to war, every man capable of bearing arms appears in the field. On any special emergency each village assembles and elects a representative, and the aggregate of these select a chief for the command of the whole tribe; but the authority of this functionary ceases as soon as the occasion for his services is past; and even before that time arrives, if his conduct should not give satisfaction, his constituents meet together and at once depose him. For ordinary purposes they submit implicitly to the authority of their marabouts, for whom their respect is unbounded. They are Mahometans, but it is only the marabouts who can read Arabic, and their instruction is derived from the oral teaching of these. All the words in their language which relate to religion, and

almost all to the arts of life, are of Arabic origin. The women generally go unveiled, and the men bare-headed; but neither of these customs is universal. They are extremely frugal and industrious. It is a common thing for a Kabyle to hire himself out as a labourer in the towns, and after several years to return to his native mountains with the produce of his earnings. If he can get sufficient to procure a wife, a hut, a gun, a yataghan, a spade, an iron pot, a hand-mill, and a dog, he is quite content. If in addition he acquires a plough with draught oxen, and if his house is built of stone, he is regarded as a man of fortune. Many of the Kabyles, like the Swiss, adopt the profession of mercenary soldiers. A great number of them were in the service of the Emperor of Morocco, and at the time of the French invasion many were perfectly ready to take service under them against the Arabs, for whom they entertain great contempt. The Zouaves—a name familiar in English mouths—although now without exception Europeans, were in their origin a force raised from one of these tribes, the Zouaoua,* which had never submitted to the

* The Zouaoua, who lie between the Flissa and the Beni-Abbès, were at one time the centre of a kingdom (Koukou). In the time of Herodotus they must have given their name to a large district, for it is doubtless these whom he means by the Zauekes (iv. 193). The last part of this word is a Kabyle root meaning "territory," so that Zauekes means "the inhabitants of the Zouagha, or Zoua's land," and is formed by the same sort of false analogy that produced the name "Penshurst Wood." The Buzantes (as it should be written: see Stephanus Byzantinus, *sub voce*), whom he joins with them,

Algerine domination, and readily joined the invaders against the common enemy.

I had intended to set off very early in the morning from Tizi-Ouzou to avoid the heat of the weather; but owing to some misunderstanding, the horses were not brought until half-past eight. But I was well mounted on an excellent Arab horse belonging to a spahi, and by four o'clock in the afternoon I reached the caravanserai at the Isser (where I proposed to pass the night) with far less fatigue than had resulted from only two-thirds of the distance the day before on my sluggish mule. Between the valley of the Sebaou and Zib Zamoun, where I stopped an hour to breakfast, I met a battalion of French soldiers forming part of a force to be employed in improving the roads of Kabylie and draining some marshes. The condition of the route was very bad where I encountered them, and great was the disgust apparent on every face. What they were coming to, however, was much worse. On arriving at the Isser, I found three battalions more encamped, and at Boudouaou, the next day, two more following them. The appearance of the camp at the Isser was very lively; and the men had all made themselves comfortable, and seemed full of good-humour. The tents were all pitched, and cooking

are "the men of Bujie or Buzie." In 1833 the Kabyles in the mountains round about this place could bring 20,000 armed men into the field. The Beni-Abbès, like the Chaldeans of Kurdistan, were manufacturers of arms. The town of Kala (which was their fortress) is only five or six leagues from the Biban or Iron Gates.

was going on in messes. Several of the soldiers were fishing in the river, others bathing or washing their shirts. I saw no drunkenness or disorder of any kind, either in the camp or the neighbourhood, and was everywhere treated with civility. While strolling by the bank of the river, I came suddenly on the carcase of a horse out of which several pieces had been cut. This was, probably, a sumpter animal, killed by an accident. The French soldiers in Africa eat, without the slightest hesitation, the flesh of any horse or mule which is so killed. On their expeditions into the interior, the commissariat does not profess to carry any other food than biscuit for them, and they get no meat but what can be procured on the spot, or is the result of accidents. My informant told me that, in the Kabylie expedition of 1857, a mule happened to fall from a precipice, and in a quarter of an hour's time not a hoof was left. His own cook served him up some of the carcase as lamb; and the only fault he found with the dish was that it was too fat. The allowance of the soldier is three biscuits a day; and on some expeditions he is compelled to carry rations for six or seven days in addition to his arms and accoutrements. On one occasion, my informant told me, he had known biscuits for eleven days carried by each man. This is, I fancy, more than is done in any other army of modern times; but yet the Roman legionary would

have thought it a light weight compared with that on his own shoulders.

The discipline of the French regiments which have been for some time in Africa is, apparently, all that can be desired. The Zouaves are especially remarkable in this respect. They are an extremely fine body of men, at least equal in point of *physique* to our foot-guards, and far superior to them as regards education and habits of life. During the whole of my stay in Algeria, I never saw a Zouave either intoxicated or engaged in any discreditable act. The regiments of the line are, in every respect, much inferior. It is the practice to take one of these out every fine day upon a *promenade militaire*, to accustom them gradually to the exigencies of war. They proceed to some distance, as if on actual service, pitch their tents, cut wood and cook their rations, and return to barracks in the afternoon. But although the object is to rehearse the incidents of a campaign in the presence of the enemy, and the semblance of war is kept up even to leading spare sumpter mules with the troops, habits of slovenliness have been allowed to creep into the system. One day I came upon a battalion just marching out of Algiers, and determined to accompany them. Everything went on *en règle* while we were in the neighbourhood of the town; but immediately after this, bayonets were unfixed and swords sheathed, the officer commanding

the advanced guard quitted his men and took a short cut across the common under Mustapha, and the men carried their muskets in any way that most suited their ideas of comfort. On arriving at the Jardin d'Essai, a halt for a quarter of an hour took place, and the officer again quitted his men to have a chat and a cup of coffee in the café opposite. I availed myself of the opportunity to feel the weight of one of the knapsacks; but the owner informed me, with a smile, that on actual service it would weigh twice as much, for that on these occasions they made it as light as possible. The ammunition boxes on the mules were, if I might judge from the sound as they shook, similarly emptied. This regiment might, possibly, have recently arrived from France, and be an exception to the ordinary rule; but it certainly made an indifferent figure. The road was excessively muddy, and the men expressed their annoyance very generally, although in a good-humoured way. Probably a good deal of tact is required in bringing new arrivals up to the proper standard of efficiency.

Military punishments are extremely common. Scarcely a week takes place without something of the kind. One day I was a spectator of the expulsion of a soldier from the army. He was placed in the centre of the Place Royale, around which several companies were drawn up. The commanding officer read aloud a paper containing his sentence and the

grounds of it. A musket was then put into his hands, and he went through the manual exercise backwards, after which the piece was lowered from his shoulders to the ground, and he was compelled to step over it. The military buttons were then cut from his dress, and, no longer a soldier, he was made over to the civil power for the further punishment of seven years' hard labour. This man's offence had been disorderly conduct in one of the natives' houses, and resistance to the authorities who were called in to put a stop to it; in the course of which he struck his commanding officer. He had been in a military prison for two years before, and was just discharged when he committed the offence which led to his further punishment.

NOTE TO PAGE 143.

The following considerations induce me to believe that the language now spoken by the Kabyles is substantially the same as that which prevailed in the north of Africa more than two thousand years ago; a language bearing, probably, about the same relation to that of an educated Carthaginian, as the spoken dialect of the Saxon boors in the reign of Edward III. might to the written language of Wiclif:—

1. St. Augustine, on an occasion of explaining the word "Messias," remarks that the Punic word "Messe" is equivalent to the Latin "ungue." (*Tract.* 15, *in Johan. Evang.* c. iv. § 27.) The student is naturally surprised that, in employing such an illustration, Augustine should have selected an imperative mood. But, in fact, the imperative mood is in the Kabyle language the *root* of the verb, all other forms of which are moulded upon this one. It seems an obvious inference that the same remarkable peculiarity existed in the language that Augustine calls "Punic."

2. But the "Punic" of Augustine is "the only language besides

Latin in use in the parts where the Donatist tenets found support." (*Tract.* 2, *in Ep. Johan.* § 3.) It must, therefore, be the common African, the popular language of his time, not any dialect which may be supposed to have been employed by literary Carthaginians and to have become obsolete upon the destruction of the Carthaginian State. And it was the language of the country, not of the townspeople; for, if spoken in the towns, Augustine's congregation would not have been so entirely ignorant of it as he assumes them to be. (See *Opp.* vol. iv. p. 1234, ed. Ven.) It is, therefore, the language of the hillsmen, of the inhabitants of those chains of mountains which run along the coast westward from Hippo (Bona) to the neighbourhood of Cape Matifou,—a region which at this day is occupied exclusively by Kabyles.

3. In the extent of coast just mentioned, the Antonine Itinerary and Ptolemy give the following towns,—Rusicada (on the site of Philippeville), whose name still may be traced in the modern Skikda, Rusazus, Rusubeser, Rusuccurus or Rusicurium, Rusicibar or Rusubbicari, and Rusgunium. In all these manifestly native names the first syllable is a Kabyle word, which in its various forms of Rus, Ras, Ros, or Ris, signifies "head" or "cape."

4. The name by which the natives of North Africa called their *gourbis*, a century before Christ, was "magalia," which Bochart has shown is merely a corruption of the genuine Punic word "magaria," the well-known name of one quarter of Carthage. But "magalia" still survives in the Kabyle phrase "'l mehalla" (a camp).

5. The Kabyles of the present day use one and the same word indifferently to denote an European and a Christian. This word is *Iroumi*, which is obviously derived from *Roma*, and, consequently, must have been adopted in the times when to be a Roman and a Christian were nearly convertible terms. This would be the case in the time of Augustine, when the Christian Churches in Africa were composed almost exclusively of the Roman population in the towns on the coast and the commercial routes.

6. Herodotus relates a story of one of the chiefs of Cyrene, to whom a strange oracle was given in figurative terms. In the event of his pursuing a certain policy he is menaced with death, in which he will have for a partner "the surpassing bull" (ταῦρος ὁ καλλιστεύων). He did not take the warning, and he paid the penalty of his rashness in being assassinated, together with his father-in-law Alazir, by the people of Barca, of which place Alazir was king. The modern Kabyle language explains the oracle, which the father of history has left in obscurity. In it the word "ezghir" signifies "a bull," and this, with the prefix of the definite article, "'l'ezghir," is at once recognised as the name of the Barcæan chief, *gh* being merely the strong aspirate.

CHAPTER VII.

At the beginning of March, there being every appearance of the winter rains having passed over, I determined to proceed by sea to Oran, the seat of government of the Western Province of Algeria, with the intention of devoting a fortnight to visiting the most remarkable localities in the neighbourhood, after which the season would be sufficiently advanced to allow of my going to the high plateaux of the Central and Eastern Provinces without prejudice to the main object of my sojourn in Africa. The Government steamers run every ten days between Algiers and Oran; but the chance of a berth in these is very uncertain, for they are, in fact, intended merely for the postal service of the littoral, between the two extremities Oran and Bona, and the little cabin accommodation they possess is liable to be forestalled for the use of the military staff. It is impossible to take a berth beforehand; and when the boat arrives, there is a rush, it may be at five and six o'clock in the morning, to secure such places as are

to be had. But there is a private company, whose vessels every twenty-four or twenty-five days run between Marseilles and Malta, crossing from the former to Oran, and thence making a coasting voyage as far as Tunis, from which port they stand across to the other extremity of their course. In one of them, the *Vincent*, I was fortunate enough to obtain a berth immediately after being disappointed of one in the Government steamer; and on the night of the 2d of March we left the harbour of Algiers with a bright moon but a contrary wind. The barometer fell very much on the 1st, and the *Vincent* was kept back twelve hours on account of the strength of the wind which followed this indication. But at sunset on the 2d there seemed to be a lull, and at 11 P.M. we put to sea in hopes that the gale was over. The expectation was not realized, and after proceeding between forty and fifty miles, we were compelled to turn about, and seek for shelter once more in the harbour of Algiers. At the time of turning (about 7 A.M. on the 3d) we were nearly abreast of Cherchell; and although the west wind had become insuperable, the weather was beautifully clear, and we returned, except when stretching across a bay, at a distance of not more than three or four miles from the shore. Not suffering from sea-sickness, I rather rejoiced at our mischance, as it enabled me to examine at my leisure the whole of the coast

between Cherchell and Algiers, although the roughness of the sea frustrated all attempts at the very rudest outline. The two chief objects were the "Tombeau de la Reine," and the peninsula of Sidi Ferudje. It was the first sight I had had of the former, and it instantly arrested my attention. The captain of the steamer averred that it was a natural mound; but it is really built of cut stone, as I learnt from the superintendent of the Museum at Algiers, M. Berbrugger, who had visited it and made some excavations. From the sea, it seems to stand on the highest point of the Sahel, as on a pedestal, backed by the Atlas mountains in the distance, the lake of Aloula and the plain of the Metidja lying between the two ranges.

On the 4th of March we made another trial to get westward, and leaving Algiers at eight o'clock in the morning, were off Cape Tenez just about sunset, with the finest weather, although the wind still headed us. Between the Ras el Ammouch (the cape just to the east of Cherchell) and Cape Tenez the coast forms a bay of the greatest beauty, the hills coming down quite into the sea, very like the mountains of Cumberland both in size and shape. Behind them, every now and then, one catches a sight of the Atlas in some of its highest parts near about Milianah. Just after passing the Ras el Ammouch (which is the termination of a magnificent mountain, a sort of

outlying mass of the Atlas range, to which it is joined by a lower *col* covered with fine timber), the remains of a Roman aqueduct appear. This supplied Julia Cæsarea, of which Cherchell is the modern representative, with water. But east of the cape are other ruins; and it is there that I am inclined to believe the old Mauritanian town, Iol, formerly stood. The "Tombeau de la Reine" obviously connects itself with these ruins as they are seen from the sea; and the eastern, not the western, side of the cape is the place where shelter would be sought by the trading vessels of the ancients from the prevalent wind in this part of the Mediterranean. Indeed, this place and the bay of Arzew, which is similarly situated, are the only roads in which vessels can find shelter in the whole line of coast between Oran and Philippeville.* The sea which washes the shore of northern Africa well deserves its ancient epithet of "harbour-less;" but the captain of the steamer told me that, if again forced back, he could lie under the lee of Ras el Ammouch,

* The harbour of Algiers is of course no real exception, being formed by artificial breakwaters. The port at Julia Cæsarea was also an artificial one,—an excavation like those at Carthage and some other places on the coast of North Africa. To these the ancients gave the name of *Cothon*. That of Cæsarea must always have been very difficult to make; and I apprehend that the trading vessels of the Roman empire made use of the roads of Iol for temporary shelter, and then during fine weather moved into the Cothon to discharge their cargoes. The same kind of thing takes place now at Oran. Vessels habitually lie in the roads of Mers-el-Kebir, where they are safe from all winds but one; and when the weather permits, are brought from thence into the harbour of Oran.

and would do so. The modern Cherchell contains but very few houses within the walls (so far as the view from the sea may be trusted); but there is a large building, which I was informed was a military hospital, and in the neighbourhood are two camps, built so as to command the country and keep the neighbouring Kabyles in awe. These people have cleared and tilled a good many spots in the high mountain which terminates in the cape, as well as in the others to the south. A road from Cherchell, practicable for wheeled carriages in the summer only, runs through the forest of timber-trees spoken of above, and after passing through Marengo, a fever-stricken French village created in 1848, proceeds to join the route which unites Blidah with Miliana. From Marengo it is possible to pass direct to Algiers; but as far as Koleah the traveller must go on horse-back, although on arriving at the latter place he will find one of the best roads in Algeria, and a daily diligence to Algiers. Koleah is not seen from the sea, because it is on the southern incline of the Sahel; but it is not very far removed from it. It is nearly abreast of the steamers when they are half-way between the promontory of Sidi Ferudje and the Tombeau de la Reine. There is a strong military force there in fortified barracks; and the town, although an Arab one originally, has been so metamorphosed by the French, who have taken possession

of it, and cut sash-windows in the houses, that it is difficult to imagine that it was recently a place esteemed sacred by the natives. Such, however, is the case; and even yet the tomb of the marabout, whose reputation made the place illustrious, is, in deference to the feelings of the natives, closed against all Christians, although the mosque which was built by its side has been converted into a military hospital.

The Kabyles in the neighbourhood of Cherchell gave the French a good deal of trouble in the first eighteen years of the occupation; and the camp at Koleah was, in fact, intended to secure the settlers in the Metidja against incursions from this quarter. Cherchell itself was not occupied in force until the outbreak of the war with Abd-el-Kader in 1839. The French met with no resistance in entering the town; but it was entirely deserted by its inhabitants, and they found no human being within the walls, except a blind beggar and a dwarf idiot. But the mountaineers, especially the Beni-Menasser, maintained a perpetual warfare with the garrison until the year 1842, when the vigorous efforts of Marshal Bugeaud and General Changarnier succeeded to a great measure in breaking their spirit, and the ruin of Abd-el-Kader completed their submission.

Tenez, which is considered half-way between Algiers and Oran, lies a little to the westward of the cape.

It occupies the site of the ancient Cartenna, a Roman colony, and the quarters of the second legion. A small town nearly a mile from it was the capital of one of the petty kingdoms which succeeded to the break-up of the Arab domination. The object of the Romans in establishing a colony there probably was to obtain the produce of the copper and iron mines which exist a few miles off. The first part of the name Cartenna, like that of Carthage and Cirta, implies a fort, and the last seems connected with the root of "Teniat," a pass; and some of the French antiquaries of Algeria believe they have found the foundations of a tower on a hill commanding a defile in the immediate neighbourhood. The steamer carrying the mails between Algiers and Oran touches at Tenez, but the approach is considered very dangerous. An artificial harbour is projected; but it is not likely to be executed before the Greek Kalends.

At sunset on the 4th the breeze had abated, and we had every hope of arriving at Oran by nine or ten o'clock the next morning. But soon afterwards the west wind again resumed its force, and about four in the morning became a perfect storm; so that when I came on deck at seven o'clock on the morning of the 5th, I found that very little progress had been made. As the day advanced the wind abated, but until late in the afternoon we never made more than four knots. The weather, however, was very fine; and as the coast

trends greatly to the southwards, we were able to make some sail and steady the vessel. After coming abreast of a place called on the maps Point Magroua,* the high hills,—which had from the time of passing Cherchell come down into the sea, leaving occasionally narrow plains, but more generally steep cliffs scarcely permitting a track to be made along them,—receded from the shore and diminished very much in altitude. The coast began to present the appearance of a plateau of sandstone (with what looked like limestone over it in some places), and was occasionally so low and so loose in texture as to remind one of the crag of the Norfolk coast. Its colour varies from the white of driving sand † to the reddish colour which predominates in the neighbourhood of Algiers. Here and there it is cut by small rivers, and in one place by a very considerable one—

* Magroua is an alternative of the more common name Dahra, given to the country between the sea and the river Cheliff. Its inhabitants are almost all of Kabyle race; they are brave and industrious, and at one time exported corn and wax at a few places on the seaboard.

† This is also conspicuous at a place called Rummel-el-Abiad (white sand), just to the east of Point Magroua, one of the places where in the time of Shaw European merchants used to trade with the native tribes of the Dahra. Khelat-el-Shimmah (the lighthouse) is another observable point. Shaw says that about here is the Djibel Meniss, a mountain of *salt*. He puts Khelat-el-Shimmah at nine leagues from the embouchure of the Cheliff. I took it (or the building which I supposed to be it) for considerably less. But the circumstances under which I saw it exclude all pretence to exactness. I may observe, however, that Shaw in this part of his book is far from exact. He errs palpably, for instance, in identifying the *Cartili* of the Itinerary with any one of the places on the coast of the Dahra; for whatever it was, it was to the east of Tenez, and lay between it and Cherchell. *My* Khelat-el-Shimmah is to the west of Magroua, not, as Shaw makes it, to the east.

the Cheliff—the largest river in Algeria. After passing this, we stretched across the bay of Arzew, seeing Mostaganem in the distance just before sunset; and as we approached the high hills which again show themselves at the western extremity of the bay, the lights of Arzew appeared in the angle on the left hand. It was perfectly calm as we rounded Cape Ferratt, at a distance, so far as I could judge, of about three miles; but the moon had not risen, and I very much grudged the loss of the scene,—a feeling which a view of it from the shore of the bay by daylight some days afterwards did not tend to diminish. However, before light the next morning we arrived safe in Mers-el-Kebir (the Great Port), and having taken a pilot on board, entered the harbour of Oran at eight o'clock, where our long narrow steamer looked like a great pike in a cistern of water. I landed, and found tolerable quarters at the Hotel de l'Univers, and an establishment of warm baths in the immediate vicinity. My tossing on board the steamer had produced no feeling of discomfort; I had lost, apparently, all trace of illness, and I looked forward with intense interest to the prospect of visiting a country where, for a century before its conquest by the French, travelling had been an impossibility for an European.

Oran itself has been entirely rebuilt by the French. It occupies the two sides of a ravine, through the bottom of which flows a brook which turns several

mills, and furnishes the means of irrigation to an immense number of gardens. The Spaniards had been masters of the old town with some interruption for three centuries, when in 1791 an earthquake destroyed the greater part of it, and the Bey of Maskara, taking advantage of the circumstance, succeeded in making himself master of it. The seat of government of the western province had until this time been Maskara, but it was now transferred to Oran; and this circumstance, occurring as it did nearly forty years before the French invasion of Africa, contributed by the strangest of chances more than almost anything else to secure the possession of Algeria to them. If Oran had remained Spanish, it would probably have been impossible to crush Abd-el-Kader. Its acquisition by the French was a matter almost of haphazard. The success of Bourmont in capturing Algiers had taken every one by surprise. The Turkish power fell, and with its fall the bands of imperial government were everywhere snapped asunder throughout Algeria. In this state of things Bourmont sent his son to Oran to receive the submission of the Bey of that province to France as his feudal sovereign. More than this was neither expected nor desired, for it was in the highest degree uncertain whether the attitude which the conquerors occupied would be maintained by the Home Government. The Bey of Oran, however, an old man fond of money, and hating trouble

and whatever promised to produce trouble, not only professed his submission, but expressed the greatest anxiety to receive a French garrison into the town, and himself retire to Asia to end his days in the enjoyment of the wealth he had amassed. In the meantime, while the discussion between him and Captain Bourmont was going on, a French officer named Le Blanc, who commanded a brig of war lying in the roads, took advantage of the casual arrival of two other vessels, collected a hundred marines, landed them, and marched up into the fort of Mers-el-Kebir, the Turkish garrison not offering the least resistance. In the confusion which followed the Paris revolution of July, 1830, all orders for the administration of Algeria were sure to be soon countermanded; and at the very time when some troops and guns, which had been sent by Bourmont with a view of following up the bold policy thus irregularly initiated, were being landed at Oran, a fresh mandate enjoined the abandonment of the place. Some companies which had been landed returned to the transports in the very boats which brought them; the sea-front of the fort was blown up, and the French left. Before they did so, they offered to remove the old Bey Hassan, as he had originally desired. But when this wish had been expressed, he was actually besieged by the Arabs, who, finding that the yoke of their Turkish masters had been shrewdly shaken, took the opportunity of endea-

vouring to get rid of it altogether. They possibly had their eyes opened to the fact that their restlessness would bring about the dominion of the French in the place of that of their co-religionists; for when Hassan was informed by his new friends that they were willing to convey him to Asia, he thanked them, but said that he would remain where he was in the confidence of being able to regain the allegiance of his subjects, and that in doing so he still considered himself the vassal of France. This loose tie, a bargain as it were on one side only, sufficed to maintain the connexion of the French with the western province until the course of events showed the necessity of strengthening it.

It is only the knowledge how entirely the whole administration of the North African possessions was for the first fifteen or twenty years swayed by external circumstances, that can restrain one's indignation at the way in which money has been frittered away in public works. The harbour of Oran is an instance of the most flagrant kind. It is formed by a jetty—for really it is unworthy of the name of a pier—run out into the sea, and originally such a structure as ministers to the wants of a few fishing-boats in some of the villages on the English coast. Only five miles off is the magnificent Mers-el-Kebir, large enough to contain all the navy of France, and overhung by a rock which is almost another Gibraltar. But even granting the necessity—which doubtless existed—of making

some arrangement for landing troops and stores exactly at Oran, there is a projecting rock not a hundred yards from the commencement of the existing pier, which indicates, as plainly as if the advice were carved in letters upon it, the point from which a breakwater for any future harbour, to be effectual, must necessarily be carried. It is not difficult to see the course which things have almost everywhere taken in this ill-managed dependency. To meet some special conjuncture, a make-shift has been contrived. Further necessities have arisen; and to meet these without sacrificing what existed, some roundabout course has been suggested and carried out, generally through the machinery of a "concession" of some sort. It is just as if a settler in a new country were not only to begin by running up a shed to shelter himself from the weather, but resolutely to maintain the shed in all its integrity when he grew rich, building up his house bit by bit around it, making the dining-room an adjunct of the kitchen, and the best bedroom an appendix of the hayloft.

In the existing town of Oran, the great bulk of the population consists of Spaniards and African Jews. There are comparatively few Moors. Such as there are live mostly in the relics of the old town which remain scattered round about the existing enceinte. The Jewesses are as frightful as those of Algiers, and the Moorish women as frightful as the Jewesses. The

opportunity of criticism is here more common; for the Mauresques of Oran, instead of covering the face up to the eyes from below with a haik, and letting a veil fall down to the eyebrows from above, wear no haik, but hold their veils about the whole of their faces with their hands, letting only a single eye appear. This normal appearance, however, involves for its preservation some fatigue and much attention; and it is sacrificed almost as often as not to the impulses of laziness, curiosity, or vanity. Neither are the trousers of Algiers here worn. In their place are long petticoats; and instead of the small Moorish shoe a boot of yellow leather, reaching up only to the ankles, which are surrounded with massive metallic bangles. I saw while in Oran a few of the Berber women—the Kabyles of Morocco. They tattoo themselves on the forehead, chin, and cheeks, and have very much the appearance of gipsies. They go unveiled, and have no scruple about the presence of men, which the Arab women always have, although less so where the tribes have been brought into close contact with the French, which is particularly the case in the neighbourhood of Oran.

One of the most magnificent views in the whole of Algeria is gained by ascending the hills on the west of the town, to a point which is marked out by a ruined marabout conspicuous from below. It cannot be less than from 1,500 to 2,000 feet above the sea-level; and from it the whole of the neighbourhood

may be seen as in a map. The most prominent object is the mountainous promontory which separates the Bay of Oran from that of Arzew, terminating in Cape Ferratt. Out of the middle of this rises a hill, with a double crest like Parnassus, called the Mountain of Lions, from the former abundance of those animals in the locality. They are, however, now so scarce, that the fact of one being killed there three years ago was remarked as matter of wonder. The Mount of Lions is more than 5,000 feet in height, and is covered with the usual brushwood of the littoral of Algeria, as I had the opportunity of observing in crossing the flanks of it on my way from Arzew some days afterwards. Indeed, the high ground which surrounds Oran from Cape Ferratt to some distance to the west of Mers-el-Kebir is, in a geological point of view, exactly analogous to the Sahel of Algiers. It is composed of the same sandstone (more compressed, however, by volcanic action), and clothed with the same plants. Like the Sahel, too, its inclination to the south is very gentle, and it slopes into an extensive plain corresponding to the Metidja of the central province. But while the waters of the Metidja do, with the exception of Lake Aloula, find their way ultimately into the sea, the drainage of the plain of Oran—if one may give a collective name to the lowlands intercepted between the high coast and the Atlas range—accu-

mulates in large shallow lakes called Sebkahs, more or less impregnated with salt. The largest of these, a few miles from Oran, extends over a great surface. At the time I saw it, it was about seven miles across at its broadest part, and not less than thirty in length. Another, in the neighbourhood of Arzew, is of a smaller size, but much richer in its yield of salt. This is simply collected from the banks as the water evaporates in the summer-time. Beyond the lake of Oran, the extreme visible point of which bears south-west of the marabout above-mentioned, are the hills which form the feet of the Atlas,—one part of the rim of that great irregular inland basin, of which the Sebkahs constitute the bottom and the high cliffs from Cape Ferratt to Cape Fegalo the seaward edge. The southern part of this tract, towards the Sebkah of Arzew, is occupied by the Abid-Gharabas, a tribe of Arab nomads partly inhabiting the valley of the Sig, and partly the mountains above it. Near the Sebkah of Oran, and from thence nearly as far as Maskara on the south-east and Tlemçen on the south-west, spreads the Kabyle tribe of the Beni-Amer, which is subdivided into thirteen cantons. In the northern part of the basin, between the sea and the Sebkah of Oran, are the tents of the Douair and the Turkish military colonies of the Zmela. These last have, to a considerable extent, given way to European settlers; but twenty years ago the whole of the country was covered with

the ordinary growth of Algerian wastes, such as dwarf palm, lentisque, and asphodel. Now, for six or seven miles around Oran, it is well cleared, and much cultivation is carried on. Almost as far as the Sebkah the landscape appears spotted with farms, which I was told were chiefly French; but my informant at the same time owned that the actual labourers were mostly Spaniards and Maltese, especially the former.

From the marabout which commands the view just described, it is easy to gain the summit of the plateau, which the traveller may follow for several miles before he will arrive at its western extremity. Everywhere towards the sea he will find the descent more or less precipitous, while in the opposite direction there is uniformly a gentle slope towards the great Sebkah. On the very top of the plateau the surface is generally laid bare by the heavy rains, and there appear large blocks of limestone, or flat surfaces of the same, devoid of vegetation or moisture. Two or three flocks of goats, attended by Spanish herdsmen, haunt this part, and pick up a subsistence from the grass which shoots up in the clefts. The more sloping parts are better covered. The dwarf palm, the asphodel, and the wild lavender soon appear; and at a little distance below the highest level, the Flora of the Sahel of Algiers is reproduced in every particular. Here and there a small space has been cleared, and sown with corn; but this is very rare and the produce

extremely scanty; while the broad-leaved lily showing itself thick in the midst of the crop, proves that the surface has been merely scratched, probably by hand-labour.

The Kasbah, or citadel of the old Oran, lies on the western side of the ravine which divides the town. It suffered greatly from the earthquake of 1791, and is now only used as a barrack for some *tirailleurs indigènes*. The military head-quarters are in the Chateau Neuf, situated on the heights of the eastern side. I had brought letters to General Martimprey, the commander of the forces, and also to Colonel Rensen, the chief of the staff of the western province, two officers whose scientific as well as military reputation will be well known to many of their late British comrades in the Crimea; and I walked up to the General's quarters to deliver them. The proximity of the Morocco frontier causes this command, and that of Tlemçen which is subordinated to it, to be one of great anxiety; and almost every hour military couriers arrive bringing despatches which require immediate attention from relating to those sort of matters which somebody has well described as being "trifles—except you neglect them." It was the first time I had seen realized the habits of a border life; and I remembered Sir Walter Scott's description of Branksome Hall when I saw eight or ten spahis, with their horses, all ready to start at an instant's notice,

waiting outside the office of the chief of the staff. The pressure of business, however, was no hindrance to my receiving the most courteous attention from this gentleman, who during my stay at Oran made me feel that hospitality is not exclusively the characteristic of Englishmen, and his kindness and that of his chief put me in the way of seeing much more of the interior than would otherwise have been possible in the limited time I could command.

My wish was to go first to Tlemçen, and from thence cross the interior to Maskara, by a route which passes through Sidi Bel Abbès,—a town not remarkable in any other respect but interesting as being the centre of the native commerce in this part of Africa. From Maskara I hoped to obtain means of going direct to Mostaganem, and from thence returning to Oran by the old town of Arzew—the Arsenaria of the Roman empire. The importance of Tlemçen, Maskara, and Mostaganem, as military posts, especially of the two former, has caused the connexion of each with the centre of government at Oran by a "route carrossable;" but they can only be reached from one another on horseback, and the condition of the country is such that an escort, if not absolutely necessary, is at any rate desirable.

The road to Tlemçen, however, although in the summer-time it is traversed by wheels, is reputed to be the very worst in the whole of Algeria that enjoys

that distinction. I set out upon it at three o'clock in the morning in the *malle-post*, which is built specially for the purpose, like one that goes (or used five-and-twenty years back to go) over the Simplon. It is very low, without a perch, and no passenger is allowed more than ten kilogrammes (about twenty-five pounds) of luggage, at any price. There is scarcely room for four inside; but nevertheless six were squeezed in, of whom one luckily was a child. Off we set as the clock struck three, by the light of the moon as well as that of our own lamps. The first part of the road skirts the plain as far as Miserghin, the site of a former country palace of the Bey of Oran, and then descending into it passes along the western shore of the great Sebkah. It is impossible to conceive anything more dreary than the appearance of the country in this part. Only a very few spots are cleared here and there, and all the rest is bush. The soil at the edges of the plain has the same resemblance to that of the New Forest which has been remarked in the case of the Metidja. From the salt lake we began to rise, and crossed a range of hills (or rather a plateau) of 1,200 or 1,300 feet above the sea; after which we dipped a little, and then mounted another of more than 1,600. From this elevation we descended on the Isser, a river which has obtained great notoriety in the annals of Algeria. The name is identical with that of one of the rivers on the borders of Great

Kabylie, as is also the case with one of its affluents—the Oued Zeithun. No doubt both belong to the Kabyle language and are significant in it; for the tribes both on the river of Oran, and on that of Algiers, are of the Kabyle race.

At the post-station just before descending to the Isser, we fell in with a tribe (or portion of a tribe) which were described to me as Ouled Ben-Youssouf, and said to occasion the French more trouble than almost any other at the present time. The small camp of them which we passed was exempt from contributions to the State, in return for the service of watching the stable in which the relays of horses were kept. Without this arrangement these would infallibly be stolen, probably by their present guardians. Three or four of them were sitting on the ground as the Arab always does, wrapped in his burnous, with his chin resting on his knees, and glared at us from eyes in which ferocity and fear were combined much as in those of Mr. Van Amburg's lions. They would not return our salute, or accept snuff or tobacco from us, but scowled on us in sullen silence without moving, except one young man whose curiosity, or cupidity, was excited by my aneroid barometer, which he got up to look at. He was one of the handsomest and most villanous-looking fellows I ever saw; and I have no doubt, except for the awe inspired by the French, his yataghan would have been employed upon our

throats without a moment's delay, or the shadow of a scruple. But he had a noble profile, and the eye of an eagle. Upon the banks of the Isser, on the other hand, we found a tribe of a particularly mild and quiet character, engaged in agriculture and apparently well to do. After crossing the Isser, another range of hills is passed before descending on the plain which lies to the north of Tlemçen, and I estimated the highest point upon them over which the road passed, at 1,198 feet above the level of the sea, Tlemçen itself being 1,167 higher still.

It is impossible to convey an adequate idea of the condition of the Tlemçen road to those who have not tried it. All was very well while we were in the neighbourhood of Oran, and within tolerable reach of the stone which is obtained from the rocks on the western side of the town. But on arriving at a place called *Les trois puits,* very soon after we had reached the shore of the sebkah, all pretence at solidity ceased. The track which had been marked out for the road became, from the ruts upon it, worse than the country through which it ran. This, however, is the normal state of things; the coachman and postboy—we never had less than six horses, by the way, and often eight—showed themselves equal to the emergency, and at once turned off into the waste, without a shadow of hesitation. Away we went at speed, crashing on over dwarf palms and other shrubs, the carriage surging

like a ship in a storm over the inequalities of the ground, until from time to time suddenly brought up by a quagmire. I have no doubt we left the road twenty times in the course of the day, and on one or two occasions did not regain it until after a circuit of several miles. How the woodwork and springs stood is to me incomprehensible. Once the road was quite blocked up, while at the side was a low parapet of stones piled up a foot high, and beyond them a ditch nearly a yard broad, cut to let the waters run off. To my infinite surprise, the postboy turned the leaders right at this. Over they went clear, followed by the other four horses, and the other four horses by the carriage. Two such jolts as accompanied this brilliant manœuvre I never felt; but the machine did not seem to suffer, neither was the luggage scattered to the four winds or the coachman shot into infinite space. In short, after a time, the natural apprehensions incident to such an undertaking as we were engaged in, subsided, and, except for the bruises, it became as pleasant an excitement as a gallop after hounds. I suppose the habit of driving guns has induced this style of charioteering in French Africa; unless it has been handed down traditionally from the time when Pindar celebrated the feats of the chiefs of Cyrene.

The appearance of Tlemçen, as one approaches it, is extremely pleasing. The plain around is a complete forest of olive-trees of enormous size, belonging to the

natives, who between the Isser and Tlemçen appear the most civilised and the best to do of any I have seen. Their prosperity, however, is only of fifteen years' standing; for so long as Abd-el-Kader remained at Tlemçen this region was subjected to the horrors of war, as much as Belgium in the last century, and for similar reasons. Its command was important to the Arab chief; for through it he kept up his communications with the empire of Morocco, and was enabled to receive gunpowder—it is said from Gibraltar—by the mouth of the Tafna,—a stream of which the Isser just mentioned is one of the tributaries. But in 1842 a permanent stop was put to these proceedings. Tlemçen was occupied in force by General Bedeau, an officer whose skill as an administrator became remarkable even among the many remarkable men which the Algerian conquest produced. After displaying the power of France by driving Abd-el-Kader from the valley of the upper Tafna, he took advantage of the character of the Kabyle population,—essentially republican, and averse to submission to a central power—to excite the latent jealousy which existed with regard to the Emir, and propose a league against him between them and the French. The design perfectly succeeded. The town of Nedrouma, containing nearly five thousand inhabitants (on the northern slope of the hills which lie to the west of the lower Tafna), was the first to respond favourably to

the invitation, and the example was soon followed by many other tribes. Before the year was over, the Emir was compelled to retire far to the south; while the whole country from Tlemçen to the sea had become perfectly well affected to the conquerors, who had the good sense to interfere with their new allies no further than was necessary to keep them at peace with one another.

The general in command at Tlemçen, to whom I had brought an introduction, was absent on a *promenade militaire* in the Sahara; but Colonel Le Rouxeau de Rosenkoet, the commandant *ad interim*, in return for my request to be allowed an Arab trooper who could speak French to escort me, gave me as a cicerone a young French officer, Lieutenant Marty, who was familiar with the whole locality. This gentleman was so obliging as to mount me on one of his own horses, and we set off attended by three spahis, one of whom also spoke French, and appeared of superior rank to the other two. Tlemçen is only about ten miles from the frontier of Morocco, where a deadly hatred to the French prevails; and although on the Algerian side of the border the natives are kept in good order, the Arabs on the other side continually cross and commit acts of brigandage. There is no treaty of extradition between the two countries, and consequently criminals have little difficulty in escaping after the commission of

any outrage. If the Morocco robbers are caught, they are shot without mercy; and they, not unnaturally, always murder when they rob. About three weeks ago a poor French *colon* was killed just outside the walls of Tlemçen; and I observed that only a mile out in the country a spahi was always sent on in front to reconnoitre, wherever ruins or the like appeared to offer a cover for a party of bad subjects.

Mr. Marty complained of the fatiguing character of his duty, especially in winter. The only protection that can be afforded to the cultivators is to patrol the frontier in strong parties by night; but this is not an effectual security, and whenever the nights are dark and stormy, some homestead is sure to be burned. The offenders are, however, often intercepted on their way back, and a very extensive system of *espionage* is organized, I believe on both sides of the frontier. In the course of the afternoon a fourth spahi rode up and said something to the lieutenant, when he told me that the authorities had received information of the murderer of the Frenchman, that he was at that moment on the French side of the border, and would probably be executed before night. This rough method of administering justice is, doubtless, the only one possible; but it is obvious that the evidence must in most cases be very incomplete, and that by it a frightful scope is given to misconduct on the part of the native agents employed, besides sowing an

altogether ineradicable hatred in the bosoms of the Marocains, who in the natural course of things can hardly fail, sooner or later, to become French subjects.

In the course of the wars which devastated this part of the country since 1830, the town of Tlemçen was almost entirely destroyed. In the highest part of it is a strong walled fortress, which, like the Kasbah at Algiers, served as a palace for the chiefs in former days. It is called the Mechouar. Upon the capture of Algiers by the French, the Arabs here, as well as at Oran, endeavoured to throw off the yoke of the Turks. But the garrison threw themselves into the Mechouar, and for five years resisted all the efforts of the Arabs to dislodge them. This apparently insignificant circumstance—for the Turks and Koulouglis were only a few hundreds in number—was, like the strange course of events at Oran, essential to the success of the French; for it prevented the consolidation of Abd-el-Kader's power until the hold of the conquerors upon the western province had become too firm to be shaken off.

That extraordinary man, who has been called with justice the modern Jugurtha, is exactly the same age as the present Emperor of the French. He was born in the year 1808, and his father, Mahiddin, was a marabout of the tribe of the Hachem, in the neighbourhood of Maskara. The family had for several

generations presided over a kind of college, founded by one of their ancestors, and called from him the Guetna of Sidi-Mahiddin. It was there that Abd-el-Kader was educated by his father to the utmost extent to which Arabian cultivation is carried; and it is said that, in addition to great capacity in other respects, he displayed at an early age remarkable oratorical talent. In the year 1832, the Arabs in the neighbourhood of Maskara—the fall of the Algerine dynasty having left them practically independent—were anxious to elect the old Mahiddin as their chief. He pleaded his old age, and recommended them to take his second son; and to confirm his advice told them a story, which, whether true or not, was well adapted to influence the imagination of his hearers. Several years before, he said, while on a pilgrimage to Mecca with his eldest son, he met in the neighbourhood of the city a fakeer, who presented him with three apples. "One is for thee," said the holy man; "one for him," pointing to the boy; "and the third for the sultan." "What sultan?" said the old man. "Him whom thou hast left at home." This augury, then first published, contributed not a little to confirm the impression which the character of the young chief had already made in the neighbourhood of his birthplace. To these favourable circumstances was added the secret influence of the Emperor of Morocco, who after vainly

attempting to possess himself of a part of the province, in anticipation of the general scramble which seemed likely to take place, conceived the thought of achieving the same result through the agency of another, and for this purpose saw none so well adapted as the young son of Mahiddin, who, like himself, claimed the honour of a descent from the Prophet.

Elected Emir of Maskara under these circumstances, Abd-el-Kader commenced his career by an attack of Oran, which the French, after a series of abortive schemes for governing it by the agency of a native chief, had at last determined to occupy themselves. He failed in the attempt; but by the example which he set of personal courage, he succeeded in habituating the Arabs to the fire of artillery, of which they had hitherto entertained an irresistible fear. Adopting another style of warfare, he began to cut off the supplies which the town had been accustomed to receive from the country, and soon made it almost entirely dependent on those imported by sea. The next year he succeeded in obtaining possession of the city of Tlemçen, but was unable either to cajole the Turkish garrison of the Mechouar, or to expel them by force, having at that time no artillery. But his policy in starving the littoral had been so successful, that in the next year (1834) he obtained a peace from General Des Michels, the French commandant at Oran, which gave him the port of Arzew,

and confined the commerce of Oran and Mostaganem (which latter the French had in the meantime occupied) to the supply of their own wants. His fortunes now grew rapidly. He had succeeded in impressing the general with the delusion that through him the French might obtain a control over the whole of the tribes of the interior; and actually, with the aid of ammunition supplied him in this hope, secured a supremacy over all the native tribes between the confines of Morocco and the river Cheliff. In 1835 he pushed on yet farther, crossed the Cheliff and obtained the submission of both Cherchell and Tenez, advanced from thence to Milianah, where he was received with the greatest enthusiasm by all the inhabitants, and from thence proceeded to Médéah, where he appointed one of his own adherents bey of the province of Tittery. The French Government now took the alarm, and endeavoured to check the growing greatness of their *protégé;* but the first attempt in that direction ended most unfortunately. General Trezel, who had succeeded to the command at Oran, advanced with about 2,500 men and five or six guns on the road towards Maskara, as far as the banks of the Sig. He had been attacked by skirmishers during his march, and suffered so much, although the enemy had on every occasion been repulsed, that he felt unable to advance farther. In order to save appearances, he resolved upon his retreat to return, not to

Oran, but to Arzew; and fearing that arrangements might have been made by Abd-el-Kader to attack him on the direct route thither, he determined to skirt the hills which form the boundary of the valley of the Sig on the west, and to come out into the open country which surrounds the gulf of Arzew by a defile below the junction of the Sig and the Habra, where the united streams take the name of the Makta (ford). The Emir divined his intention, and at once despatched a number of cavalry, each carrying a foot-soldier behind him, to occupy the pass. When the head of the French column arrived there, it was the middle of the day, and the soldiers were terribly exhausted with the heat. On their left were hills, and on their right a marsh formed by the Makta; and the passage between was so narrow, that the carriages which contained the ammunition and the wounded could only pass singly. In this conjuncture the Emir launched his troops upon the column, and struck a panic into the whole force. Only one carriage, containing wounded, was saved; the ammunition carts were all lost; and it was with the greatest difficulty General Trezel succeeded in bringing the survivors of the contest into Arzew, where they did not arrive till eight o'clock at night, after having been marching incessantly for sixteen hours, of which they were actually engaged with the enemy for fourteen. No less than 500

were left on the field of battle. Abd-el-Kader carried off a howitzer, the first he ever possessed; and the French troops were so discouraged by the events of the day, that their commander was obliged to send them to Oran by sea. This terrible defeat took place on the 29th of June, the blackest day of any in the annals of the conquest of Algeria. In the following November an attempt was made to revenge the insult inflicted on the honour of the French. The Governor-General, Marshal Clausel, accompanied by the Duc d'Orleans, conducted an expedition with no less than 11,000 men against Maskara. After encountering some opposition, the army reached the town on the 5th of December; but Abd-el-Kader with the whole of the Mussulman population had abandoned it. Only the Jews remained, plundered and ill-treated by the Mahometans in the confusion of the evacuation. The rain began to fall, and everything looked discouraging. Clausel had brought with him an Arab chief, whom he proposed to leave as Bey of Maskara; but this dignitary preferred to return with the army, for Abd-el-Kader, with the whole population of Maskara, was but three leagues off, waiting only for the retreat of the French to return to his old quarters. Accordingly, it was determined to burn everything which could be destroyed and to return to Mostaganem, transporting thither the whole of the Jewish population of Maskara. The retreat commenced on

the 9th. The rain had continued falling, and the route, which winds among broken ground, as it descends from plateau to plateau, became almost invisible from the clouds and mist. The army suffered terribly during the three days which elapsed before it reached Mostaganem. The baggage animals, especially the camels, slipped into the ravines which every watercourse forms in, an incredibly short space of time in this soft soil after rain; and the slip of a loaded camel is nearly sure to disable the animal by spraining the hip-joint. The wretched Israelites who were being removed suffered worse than the soldiers from want of food and misery of all sorts. Numbers of children were left to perish on the road, and some were preserved only by the compassion of the soldiers. An eye-witness relates that he saw a mounted chasseur carrying two infants, one in each arm. They were very young, and in default of the nourishment they expected from their mother, who had probably perished, their rough nurse was supplying them with his own biscuit, previously masticated to a condition in which it appeared possible to afford them sustenance.

But with all the success that had hitherto attended the Emir, he had not been able to obtain possession of the Mechouar of Tlemçen. That still held out, and now it was to change hands, and acquire an even more obstinate defender. Marshal Clausel, in the next

month after the unfortunate expedition to Maskara, perhaps with a view of retrieving the moral power which his ill success had destroyed, set out again at the head of another large force, and occupied the town. Delighted with its position, and the fertile character of the neighbouring country, he formed the project of occupying it permanently. But Tlemçen is not less than eighty miles from Oran, and the distance precluded the idea of being able to keep up communications with it. It is not more than a third of the distance from the embouchure of the Tafna, and close to this is a small island called Rasgoun. The Marshal conceived that by seizing this, and establishing a fort upon the mainland, he should obtain the power of supplying Tlemçen with stores by a much shorter line. An attempt to open this communication was foiled by the difficulties presented by the nature of the country, which were such as to enable the Emir to offer an effectual opposition to any convoy. Unwilling, however, to relinquish his project, Clausel persisted in the original design. The Turks and Koulouglis were removed, and a young French officer, Captain Cavaignac, was placed in the Mechouar with no more than 273 men, all volunteers. The position appeared an almost desperate one; and it has been said that the real object of the Home Government was to sacrifice one whose stern republican principles rendered him odious to the then existing dynasty, and whose talents

and energy inspired as much fear as admiration. But if this was the secret design of the Ministry, their scheme was signally foiled. It was not until late in the following June that the brave garrison of the Mechouar and their intrepid commander were relieved. In April, indeed, an effort was made to open a communication with them from Rasgoun; but the attempt to establish a post on the mainland had awakened all the hostility of the Kabyles in the neighbourhood, and Abd-el-Kader, profiting by the circumstance, collected a force, defeated General d'Arlanges to whom the task of relieving Cavaignac had been assigned, and afterwards blocked him up in his fortified camp, where he was nearly starved before he could be extricated by General Bugeaud, by whom at last the relief of the Mechouar was effected. But when the relieving expedition reached Tlemçen, they found the garrison not only alive, but in the highest spirits. All their supplies had been long since exhausted, and their clothing worn out; but their indomitable chief had fed them from the produce of forays executed by night in the neighbouring country, clothed them afresh in the same way, and infused into them the firm conviction that they were able to hold the fortress against the whole Arab nation. Yet all the recognition that their extraordinary efforts received was an offer on the part of the general, to recommend Cavaignac for promotion to the rank of *chef de bataillon*. Not a word of

praise, not the slightest mark of approbation, was bestowed upon the heroic band which he had commanded; and scorning the personal reward which had been proffered him, the indignant commander declared that he would accept of no distinction which his men could not share. Among all the exploits of the Algerian campaigns, this maintenance of the Mechouar lives the most in the memory of the French African army. Cavaignac is their *preux chevalier* beyond all others, and the present sovereign of France evinced no less sagacity than magnanimity in the respect which he showed to the memory of his great rival.

Important as the part was which the Mechouar played, it is utterly indefensible against artillery, being commanded by the hills on its southward side. If Abd-el-Kader had owned half a dozen cannon in 1834, he would probably at this moment be sultan of the whole of Barbary. But the events of 1835 and 1836 had unmasked his intentions; and although by an adroit diplomacy, no less wonderful than his talents for war and organization, he succeeded in 1837 in procuring a treaty which gave him not only Tlemçen, but the whole of the province of Tittery, a large portion of that of Algiers, and all that of Oran, with the exception of the towns of Mostaganem, Arzew, and Oran, his final destiny was inevitable. The pride of the French nation had been roused. The merest hint of an intention to abandon

the African conquests would have entailed the fall of any government. The people were ready to maintain their conquests at any cost; and above all, the men of ability in the African armies, the Lamoricières, Changarniers, Bedeaus, Cavaignacs, Bugeauds, and others, had shown themselves unmistakeably, and could no longer be suppressed to favour the feeble *protégés* of the Court. When the Emir's ambition at last stimulated him to recommence the war, the contest immediately became one against the whole power of France backed by undivided public opinion; and overwhelming as his successes were at the first outbreak, no reasonable person could doubt the ultimate issue of the struggle.

The exigencies of warfare during the period of which a sketch has been given, naturally produced the destruction of the greater part of the town of Tlemçen. The buildings in the immediate neighbourhood of the Mechouar were of course levelled to destroy all cover for an enemy. Two or three mosques still remain standing, but with these exceptions the whole of the upper level has been rebuilt by the French. The place is valuable as an important military position, and the Mechouar is of course made use of as a barrack and arsenal. There is also a military hospital within the enceinte. From the ramparts the view is extremely beautiful, but not equal to that from the high ground about half a mile to the south, from whence

the prospect extends over the whole of the valley of the Tafna, down to the very mouth of the river. The new French town contains only two or three streets, and a *place* filled with the shops of a few tradespeople, chiefly Jews, who minister to the wants of the military. Of course there is here a café, billiard-tables, a confectioner, a great number of tobacconists, and one or two general shops, such as one sees in an English village; but this constitutes the whole of the European trade. In the slope below the upper part of the town there are three or four streets still remaining of the Moorish city,—among them two entirely full of low shops, where there appears to be considerable native traffic, and even some manufactures. I saw house furniture being made, silk embroidered, and in two or three instances handlooms at work. The native population is entirely confined to the lower part of the town. Mixed up with them I saw several of the people from the other side of the Morocco frontier, distinguishable both by the villainous expression in their countenances, and by their garb, which is not a bournous but a loose sort of tunic of a brown colour with black stripes running down it very close to one another. The same dress is worn by the Beni-Mozabites, a remarkable tribe which will be described below.

Under the escort of Lieutenant Marty I visited a most singular and extensive ruin which exists about a mile from the outer circuit of the ancient walls.

These are far in advance of the existing city, which bears about the same relation in point of size to that which must once have been, as the stone of a peach to the fruit. At least five distinct circles of fortification are traceable; and within the precincts of one of these, whose extent may be judged from the fact that it took me eleven minutes to walk to the nearest part of the existing wall, there are enormous numbers of olive-trees of immense age,—probably eight or nine hundred years old. These must, of course, have been planted subsequently to the destruction of the buildings whose place they occupy. The Arab traditions state that the population of Tlemçen once amounted to 200,000, and that its wealth was fabulous. It was during this, its flourishing time, that a sultan of Fez, or of Mostaganem,—for, like all mythical stories, this one, while preserving the kernel of the legend, varies in all its details,—laid siege to the city. Unable to take it after an attempt which lasted as long as that upon Troy, he resolved to build another city in the immediate vicinity.* So numerous was his army, that his cavalry brought from the mouth of the Tafna, in the folds of their bournouses,

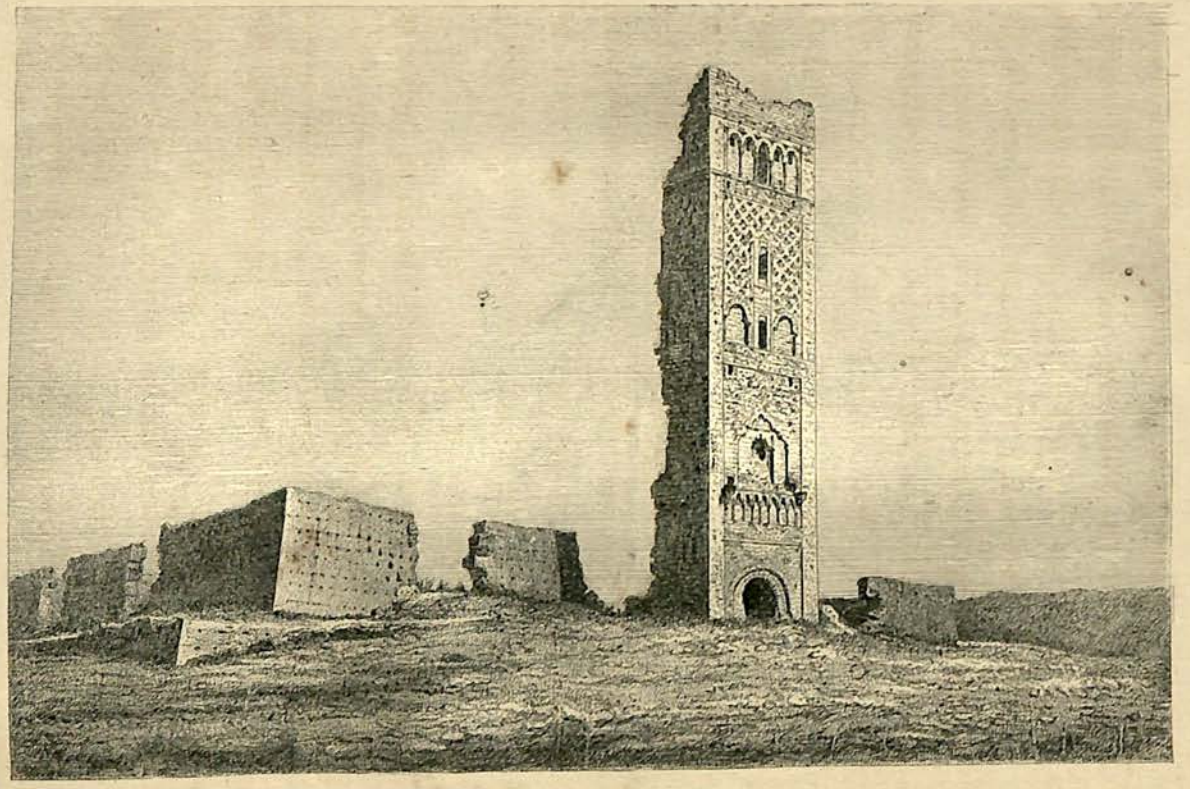
* This was to be an ἐπιτείχισμα from which to gall Tlemçen,—a feature in the legend which may give some clue to the time in which it sprang up, *i.e.* while the Turkish conquests were proceeding, and this method was adopted for overcoming the resistance of the fortified cities of which the barbarous invaders gradually possessed themselves.

the earth for making the walls. From this, and some other substances, a cement was made of which the new city was built,—a manufacture which none now can imitate. The stately ramparts arose, and within them there was a mosque far surpassing any that existed in Tlemçen. Part of it was built by Mahometans and part by Jews. The former still stands, the latter has fallen. The name of Mansourah (the fortunate) was given to the new city, of which the ruins alone now remain. Its arms effected the destruction of Tlemçen, and then it fell itself. Such is the account which local traditionary history gives of these curious remains. It is unnecessary to criticise the details of the story. The Mansourah was, apparently, built by one of the sovereigns of Tlemçen in its palmy days, as a palace for himself. The area is an oblong, extending from north to south, but the north-west angle of the oblong is cut off, so that the whole forms an irregular pentagon, of which the circumference is not less than a mile or a mile and a half. The thickness of the walls throughout was not less than six feet, and their height about twenty-five. So much still remains, that it is plain there were square towers every thirty or forty yards, and that the whole circumference, wall and towers, was regularly battlemented. But in the north-west angle the ruins of the mosque afford the most wonderful sight of all. The minaret is split from top to

bottom, and half remains standing, more than one hundred feet in height. The mosque itself constituted a separate fortification. Its walls, as well as those of the circuit of the Mansourah, are perforated throughout, to admit of arrows being shot or spears protruded through the orifices.* The material of the whole is not stone, but an artificial concrete, which seems to have been made in large blocks. It is extremely hard, which no stone in the vicinity of Tlemçen is. The minaret of the mosque contained eight stories, which may be distinctly traced inside. Its outer face is elaborately ornamented in the best Arabian style; but in the lower part of the façade the ornamentation is effected by carved stones, which are, apparently, of Roman origin, and were, no doubt, brought from the ruins of one of the Roman towns in this neighbourhood after its destruction by the Vandals.

As the Mansourah lies upon the northern incline of the hills which back Tlemçen, the southern end of the oblong area is higher than the rest. From this upper side a single line of fortification extends up into the mountain which is close above, so as to form a barrier and prevent any one from passing to the north of the inclosure. The direction of the face of this towards Tlemçen may, perhaps, have formed the basis of the

* This is also the case with the *ancient* walls of Tlemçen, and also with the ruins at Souk-el-Mitou, about eighteen miles from Mostaganem.



Part of the Mansourah at Tlemçen.

legend just related. But the sumptuous style of the mosque and the character of the building throughout would prove decisively (if proof were necessary) that the work was not effected for any temporary purpose, such as the taking a neighbouring town; and moreover, that it would never have been undertaken except by some one who had the command of very large funds.

But the whole story of Tlemçen is obscure. That it passed through great vicissitudes is obvious; but there is a break in its history, which up to the present time no one has been able to fill up. After Lieutenant Marty had left me in the afternoon, I set out by myself on foot to explore a portion of the ancient wall which seemed to be the lowest part of the widest circle of the old fortifications, and had especially attracted my attention by a handsome minaret which remained just outside it, apparently perfect, although every trace of the mosque to which it belonged had vanished. But beyond this enceinte there ran a brook, and beyond the brook there appeared a further fortification, possibly intended as an outwork. All was in ruins, but exhibited marks of strength far exceeding that of the most recent of the walls. The whole is in the midst of a grove of olive-trees growing on ruins, which the French have called the "Bois de Boulogne," and cut some paths in it for the benefit of promenaders. I found a couple of

apparently well-educated Frenchmen here, and tried to learn something from them in explanation of what met my eye. But they assured me that nothing was known, adding, "*Vous n'avez qu'à voir et y réfléchir, Monsieur, et vous pourrez en faire une histoire autant qu'un autre.*" Any enthusiasm, however, for exploring, which this encouragement might have excited, was damped by my new acquaintance calling my attention to the height of the sun, and recommending me not to let the shades of evening overtake me in the Bois de Boulogne.

On my way back to the town I witnessed an amusing spectacle,—forty or fifty Arabs playing hockey. It was the only time I ever saw this grave impassive race in a state of active enjoyment. On this occasion, however, they certainly were so,—at least the players. The scene of the sport was a large quadrangular inclosure, part of a ruined building of some kind. The game was played with large crooked sticks, of which the bent part was tied round with a cord, so as to form a kind of spoon, and the ball—which was a large leathern pudding—was not struck, but pushed or spooned. There were three holes in three of the four sides of the ruin, and a party of players corresponding to each; and the object seemed to be for every two of these to combine against the third, so as to defeat their efforts to drive the ball through their own hole. Such a game is an apt

emblem of the political life of the race, ever ready to combine against a government, even if it be one which they themselves have helped to set up.

After visiting the Mansourah, Mr. Marty took me to a village in the neighbourhood called Sidi-Bou-Medine, which has grown up around the marabout of a Mahometan saint of the same name. A very beautifully decorated mosque—now being restored—stands close by the marabout. So sacred is this village reputed, that no European is allowed to reside in it. Notwithstanding this, the French officer and myself were admitted into the very sanctuary, without taking off our boots or spurs—much against my own wish. Both the tomb of Sidi-Bou-Medine and that of Sidi-Absalom, who lies by his side, are covered with rich carpets, and the walls hung round with offerings, very much in the same style as in the marabout of Sidi-Abd-el-Rahman described elsewhere. In this case there was also a sort of chancel-screen in front of the two tombs, completely covered with banners, which, I was told, were renewed annually. Close to the apartment containing the tombs is another in which four or five persons are buried, who were admirers of one or other of the two saints. Opposite to these chambers, but still within the enceinte of the marabout, is another chamber with benches, on which pilgrims who frequent the shrine sometimes spread their carpets and pass the night. Within the precinct

is also a well, surrounded with a tube of white marble, down which a small bucket (which held about two quarts) was let by a chain and some water brought up. This was offered to me, but I did not taste it, upon which some of the people who were with us drank it eagerly; and as they certainly were not at the time thirsty, I imagine that some particular virtue is supposed to reside in the spring.

We were conducted from the marabout to an elevated bank nearly opposite, where, under the shade of a tree, we found a carpet spread on a bench of stone in the open air. On this the officer and I took our seats, the superior spahi on a stool just below us, and the other two with four or five people of the village on a stone bench at right angles to ours some way off. They then brought us coffee, prepared in the Arab fashion, and a large basket filled with nuts, pomegranates, and dates, to which a bowl of milk was soon added. After drinking our coffee, and just tasting the contents of the basket, which I was told ought to be done, a live coal was brought in a pair of tongs for us to light our cigars, and the spahi then took the provisions and carried them to the occupants of the lower bench, who consumed them with every appearance of appetite. I fancy the theory of the transaction was that these people were feeding on our bounty. In an apartment adjoining the mosque we found a school in which the

children of the village were being taught to read. One of them, a little creature of only four years old, was the son of the schoolmaster. It was painfully studying the Arabic alphabet on a well-thumbed bit of parchment, with the usual accompaniments in such cases of a pouting mouth and dirty nose.

The Government keep up a breeding stable at Tlemçen, for the use of the tribes; but there were at the time no fine horses in it, the best having been dispersed over the country. The long wars since the conquest of Algiers were so destructive, that there resulted a manifest degeneracy in the quality of the race; and to remedy the mischief, the Government has of late years purchased stallions at high prices, and allowed the Arabs to avail themselves of them gratuitously. The best breeding stable is considered to be that at Mostaganem. In this I saw a very handsome Syrian horse, for which 7,000 francs had been paid. He was the most expensive of the whole collection, but there were three or four other very fine animals. The lowest price for which a stallion can be procured which it would be desirable to use as a stud horse is about 4,000 francs; but for ordinary purposes, from 500 to 700 francs will purchase a good horse in the western province, and in the eastern the price would be even less. Mr. Marty told me that his charger which I rode, had cost 700 francs. It was from Morocco, and a powerful animal,

thicker in the carcase than the Arab horses usually are, of a gray colour, and with a rat-tail. I saw several others of the same type in the neighbourhood of Oran, but scarcely any either in the central or eastern provinces, and I imagine that this variety of the Barb is peculiar to the empire of Morocco. Mr. Marty's own horse was a black, much lighter in the crest and finer in the head. He told me he had more than once galloped him for fifteen leagues. The great value of the Barb consists in his endurance of fatigue and hard fare. The full allowance of food which he ever receives is ten pounds of barley and the same weight of hay, where the latter is attainable; but of the latter very few horses belonging to the natives get any. The animal is fed at the close of his day's work, having been allowed to drink about half an hour or an hour before. The barley is put into a nosebag, and the horse is left to eat it at his leisure during the night. During the whole day he is not allowed either to eat or drink; and he is never put into a close stable or littered down. It is quite an error to suppose that the Arabs never trot their horses. I have seen them often do it; but the usual pace in travelling is a quick walk, which the Barb will keep up for an almost unlimited time. On campaigns this breed is said to be unrivalled. The whole of the French cavalry in Africa is now furnished with native horses; and I was informed that their use

is rapidly extending to Europe, and that before long the army will be mounted exclusively on them. The Emperor was at first unfavourable to the plan, but he has since altered his views; and my informants added that, in the event of an European war, the superior mobility of the cavalry resulting from the substitution of African for European horses would astonish every one. It struck me that by a judicious selection of stallions from this breed it would be possible to improve yet further the agricultural horse of Norfolk and Suffolk, retaining his weight and stature, but hardening his constitution, and increasing his activity; and if I had been a scientific farmer, I should certainly have brought back with me a specimen or two of large barbs in order to make the experiment.

From Tlemçen I returned again to Oran, by the recommendation of Colonel Le Rouxeau, who told me that the season was not sufficiently advanced to allow me to take the cross route to Maskara by Sidi Bel Abbès without risk of detention by the swelling of the streams I should have to ford. By returning to Oran I gained one advantage,—that of seeing by daylight the portion of the route which in coming I had passed in the dark. But there are no striking features in it. About half-way is the village Ain-Temouchent,—exhibiting the ordinary characteristics of the new African villages, of being surrounded with a loopholed wall, and suffering from fever in the summer. Except

in the immediate neighbourhood of this, of Boutlelis, and Miserghin, the whole country is covered with the usual Algerian bush. The two villages of Boutlelis and Miserghin, which are of considerable size and surrounded with loopholed walls, are now chiefly peopled by Spaniards. Between the latter and Oran are a good many aloe hedges, but farther inland I did not see the plant at all. Two or three strings of camels met us in different parts of the route, bringing salt from the Sebkah of Oran, which the Arabs are allowed to take on paying a franc for every camel-load; and we saw also, both in going and returning, several douairs of nomads. In one of these, which we passed just after daybreak in going to Tlemçen, the sheep and goats were being milked before being let out from the middle of the encampment, where they had been kept during the night for safety from marauders and wild beasts. Where there is danger from either of these causes, the tents are pitched near to each other in the circumference of a regular circle, but this rule is not observed where there is nothing to fear. The neighbourhood of Ain-Temouchent is rather troubled with lions, which at night destroy some of the cattle; and a little farther to the south, on the line from Sidi Bel Abbès to Milianah, passing through Maskara and Orleansville, is the region of panthers,—an animal which, from its cunning and its power of climbing trees, is much more feared as an

adversary than the lion by both Arabs and Europeans, —while its cruelty in slaughtering many more cattle than it devours renders it a greater pest to the farmer. A young lieutenant of Engineers whom I met on my way from Maskara to Mostaganem, told me that in the part of the country just mentioned he had often when out at night found it prudent to take refuge by the Arab fires instead of pursuing his journey, in consequence of finding these animals too closely upon his track. The statement surprised me, as I had no idea they ever followed either man or beast by scent, but supposed they lay in wait for their prey, and sprang upon it unawares.

The only military position which the French occupy to the south of Tlemçen in the vicinity of the Morocco frontier is Sebdou, which is about twenty-six miles off. As far as that point the land rises in plateau after plateau. Arrived at the top, the traveller enters upon what is called the Little Sahara, a region of salt lakes at a high elevation surrounded by plains abounding in the *halfa*, a rush like that of which Indian matting is made. In these plains wells are only found here and there. In the vicinity of Sebdou is an elevated forest region, to the south of which the land again descends by a similar series of plateaux into the Great Sahara, or sandy desert. This description I was informed applied with very little variation to the whole of the elevated land between what is called on the maps the Little and

Great Atlas, extending from near the Atlantic to the vicinity of the Syrtes, and in one part I was subsequently enabled to verify the correctness of the account. Near Sebdou are some mines where copper is said to be found in considerable quantity, and I believe some silver also. The numbers of the workmen, (who amount to 1,200 or 1,500, and are all armed,) furnish a security against a regular attack; but an escort is always requisite to accompany the mail from Sebdou to Tlemçen, and *vice versâ*, the tribes having got a strange notion into their head that it carries treasure. I was informed that the mines of Sebdou exhibited marks of having been worked in the Roman times, and should have been glad to have visited them, for which the Commandant politely offered me the means; but the expedition required three days, and I could not spare the time without giving up Maskara or Mostaganem.

CHAPTER VIII.

The diligence from Oran to Maskara sets off at the same hour with that to Tlemçen, viz. three A.M.; but the distance is considerably less, being only sixty-seven or sixty-eight miles, and the road, although bad in many parts, very much better; so that we arrived by two P.M. The route, like that to Tlemçen, traverses the great plain in which the Sebkah lies, and at a distance of ten miles from Oran passes by a wretched village, called Valmy, or Le Figuier,—the latter from a fig-tree of gigantic proportions by the side of which a treaty was made, in the early part of the occupation of Algeria, between General Trezel and the two Arab tribes of the Douair and Zmela. It is also the site of a post established by Abd-el-Kader for the purpose of cutting off the supplies which the town of Oran derived from the interior. After traversing a low chain of hills, the road descends, at a distance of thirty-five miles from Oran, upon the banks of the Sig, where the village of St. Denis, which was built in 1845, indicates the point from whence General Trezel, ten

years before, commenced the retreat upon Arzew before the force of Abd-el-Kader, which resulted in the calamitous defeat of El Makta. We found a new bridge of wood building here. The soil in the immediate neighbourhood is extremely fertile, and especially favourable to the production of tobacco, wine, and silk. The year after the foundation of the village an attempt was made to bring it into cultivation by a society called the Agricultural Union of Algeria. More than 3,000 hectares of ground were conceded to this body, whose distinctive principle was that the labourer should be admitted to a partnership in the profits of the undertaking. The enterprise proved a sad failure. Money was never forthcoming in sufficient quantity to prevent sacrifice by inopportune sales. Every labourer was attacked by fever. The financial crisis which in Africa followed the revolution of 1848 put a final stop to the subscriptions of the capital of the Association, which never reached the half of the sum originally contemplated—£40,000. Then came three years of cholera, which in the last quarter of the year 1850 killed thirty-seven out of one hundred and twenty labourers employed on the lands of the Association. The undertaking finally subsided into an ordinary joint-stock company, conducted by a paid agent; after nearly half of the original concession had been given up to redeem a forfeiture which had been incurred of the whole, by failure to fulfil all the conditions that had

been annexed to the grant. At the present time, however, the locality is become tolerably healthy, and cotton and tobacco are grown to some extent.

From the bridge of the Sig the ground rises again, and the road crosses the elevated land between the valleys of the Sig and the Habra. After traversing the latter, the high hills are reached, and the ascent becomes continuous until within about a mile of Maskara, the road winding in terraces up the mountain. The highest point is, according to my estimate, 2,032 feet above the sea-level, and Maskara itself, which lies on the southern slope, 2,041 feet. But the weather was obviously deteriorating during the whole of the journey, and therefore there is every probability that the barometer fell from this cause to some extent. For the last three or four miles we had hail, and the air was extremely cold, and I congratulated myself that I was sheltered by a carriage instead of being exposed on horseback in the plain of Eghrès, where I should have been had I fulfilled my original design of coming from Tlemçen across the country. It so happened that the head of the Bureau Arabe at Maskara, to whom I had brought letters, was detained by the weather in this very locality, and did not get home for two days. The plain of Eghrès seems very much to resemble the Metidja, as one looks down upon it from Maskara. The new town itself is built something like Oran, on two sides of a ravine through which a brook

runs, and this on its way down is utilized for irrigating the gardens which fill the hollow. The fortifications are constructed with apparently more than usual care. The universal loopholed wall is here and there bastioned, and one or two cannon placed so as to sweep all approaches. The fortification too is carried across the brook in both places where the line of the wall cuts it. On the most elevated portion of the space within the walls are spacious barracks, and in a part of the remainder streets are laid out on an imposing scale, waiting only for the builder to realize the plan of the architect. At present the effect is an extremely melancholy one. There is one little inn and a few shops, but the rest of the area is nearly void. Just outside the walls, as you enter from the north, is a bazaar, frequented in about equal proportions by Arabs and Jews. Maskara is famous as a staple for the bournouses and haiks manufactured by the Arab women, having in this respect no rival but Tunis. All the shops in the bazaar are filled with specimens of this kind of work, and the shopkeeper himself will sometimes take one off his own shoulders, if he thinks it likely to attract a customer. To the north-east of the walls are the ruins of the old town, for the most part turned into huts by a tribe of sedentary Arabs, whose straw gourbis are mixed up with the scarcely less miserable hovels constructed out of the débris of the masonry. There are, however, a few houses

still surviving the destruction of Maskara. They are universally of one story high, with flat roofs. The fate before the poor Arab squatters is a very melancholy one. Their presence is obviously quite incompatible with the development of the town on the plan contemplated by the French. I remarked this to some officers, whose curiosity was excited by the appearance of a stranger. They told me that they would no doubt be removed, and named Milianah as a place where there was room for them. But I fancy, from the look and the shrug with which the diminution of their numbers was spoken of, that they are even now perishing away from the effects of imported vices, and that it will only be a remnant, if any, that must be removed to make room for cafés and estaminets.

The country around Maskara is exceedingly favourable to the cultivation of the vine. The wine produced is not unlike the Steinwein which one gets at Würzburg; and if equal pains were taken in the selection of the plant and the manufacture of the wine, I have little doubt the results would be very important both here and at Médéah. At each of these places are found the important conditions for the perfection of the grape, heat in summer and a considerable amount of cold in winter. But unhappily at neither of them is the wine-grower a man of capital, who can afford to wait several years for the return of his outlay. All kinds of grapes and in all degrees of ripeness are

thrown together into the press, and the wine is never kept for more than two or three years before it is consumed. Some of the cultivators, however, are thriving. I went into the house of one who had been there almost ever since the occupation of Maskara by General Lamoricière, that is, for fifteen or sixteen years, and he professed himself quite satisfied with the country, but not with the way in which business was done. The annoying delay in putting a colonist in possession of the lot of land conceded to him, was constantly complained of wherever I went: but the worst case I heard of was that of the eldest son of this farmer, a remarkably fine young man, and to all appearance steady and industrious in the highest degree. He had, he said, been waiting fifteen months for the fulfilment of a promise which had been made to him of a "concession." In his case the worst consequences of delay were averted; for he lived with his father and helped him in the tillage of his own land; but it is easy to imagine the utter ruin in purse, constitution, and character, which must befal an ordinary peasant left in one of the towns of the littoral for many months before he obtains a location. An effective machinery for settling emigrants at once upon their grants, and good roads to enable them to transmit their produce to the coast, are the first desiderata of Algeria, if it is to become really a colony and not continue simply a dependency.

The bad weather in which I arrived at Maskara ceased for a couple of hours before sunset, but returned again in the night, and the next morning I fully expected to remain a prisoner for two or three days. Captain D'Abert, the brother-in-law of Captain Saal, the head of the Bureau Arabe, strongly dissuaded me from attempting the direct route to Mostaganem, on account of the effect of the rain upon the soft soil of the country. There are two bridle ways. The shorter one passes over a high plateau, considerably above the level of Maskara, which itself I found so cold as to render a fire absolutely necessary in my bedroom. The other road, however, presented two obstacles which were conclusive to a convalescent. The one was a descent in soft clay over a path only about a yard wide, with a fall of some three hundred feet on each side; the other a marsh to pass, which after rain comes up higher than the horses' bellies. It seemed scarcely possible to take either of these routes without undoing all the good which had been produced by a winter in Africa, and early in the morning I gave up the idea of proceeding. But a few hours afterwards I observed that my barometer had considerably risen, and that the atmosphere was beginning to clear. I therefore returned to Captain D'Abert, and told him that if the existing state of things continued I would start at one o'clock, if he could procure me a good horse and allow me a

trooper to attend me. He was extremely polite, and at the appointed time appeared with a horse on which he had had one of his own saddles placed, and a couple of spahis, the one of whom was to carry my small valise, and the other, who from his embroidered saddle and bridle appeared to be of superior condition, to be responsible for my good treatment on the way.

I was to pass the night with the Agha of El Borj, an Arab chief high in the confidence of the French, to whom the superior spahi was the bearer of a letter of introduction. Almost as soon as we were fairly *en route*, the weather cleared up, and the only inconvenience I had to suffer was from the weight of two bournouses, in which M. D'Abert had kindly invested me, assuring me—which I have no doubt was quite true—that they would keep out even a tropical rain.* We ascended immediately after leaving the town, and rode along a high narrow plateau which runs south-west and north-east, and separates the great plain on the south-east of Maskara (the plain of Eghrès) from that on the north-west, which is a portion of the valley of the Habra. We kept getting

* *Two* bournouses are necessary for this purpose. One soon gets wet through; but two furnish an effectual protection, if they are of the best quality. The Arabs often wear half-a-dozen over one another, and possibly their sedate manners are necessitated by the great weight they habitually carry. The two bournouses, where only two are worn, are white and black; the former being put outside in warm weather, the latter in cold.

higher and higher; but the weather was now fine, and my cumbrous garb effectually prevented me from feeling the least cold. In some parts the view was most magnificent; in one especially, where the plateau had narrowed to a breadth of only five or six hundred feet, from which we looked on the right hand over the plain of Eghrès, and towards the left to a mountainous frame inclosing the valley of the Habra. The soil was a sandstone interspersed with strata of limestone, the whole very much cracked by the effect of earthquakes. The heavy rains of Africa following these, have, in many places, washed the soft sandstone away, leaving a complete range of limestone cliffs such as one sees on the shores of the sea. On the top of the plateau, too, large masses of limestone and bare sheets of the same are frequent, from the same cause, viz. the comparative resistance which they offered to the heavy rains which washed away the loose sandstone from them.

After riding for about two hours and a half through this scenery, we began to descend upon El Borj, which we saw in the distance.* It is in the middle of a narrow elevated plain which breaks the range over which we had been proceeding, and constitutes the pass, not only between the plains of Eghrès and

* I made the elevation of El Borj to be 717 feet above Maskara. The plateau over which we had been passing was four or five hundred feet higher still.

the Habra, but between the latter and the valley of the lower Cheliff, whose affluents from the south are divided from the plain of Eghrès by a similar plateau to the one we had traversed, running east and west. Its position, therefore, is extremely important in a military point of view, as it protects the region round about Arzew and Mostaganem from attacks both on the part of the Hachem (Abd-el-Kader's tribe), who inhabit the plain of Eghrès, and on that of the Flitta, a Kabyle tribe of great power in the south-west part of the valley of the lower Cheliff.

El Borj was destroyed by Abd-el-Kader in revenge for the want of resistance on the part of the Bordja to the expedition under Marshal Clausel which burnt Maskara; but it was then only a petty village without any fortifications. The place is now surrounded with a loopholed wall, perhaps of three-quarters of a mile in extent, in the midst of which stands the habitation of the Agha. When about a quarter of a mile off, my spahi rode on to deliver the letter from the French authorities, and I followed with the other at a more dignified pace. The great man received me half-way up the stairs which led to his door, and conducted me to the guest chamber, where I found a young French officer of Engineers already arrived. I requested him to inform the Agha how pleased I was to have the opportunity of visiting a great native chief; but, to my surprise, he told me he could not speak Arabic.

However, a black *tirailleur indigène*, who had come with him, was sent for, and acted as interpreter. He took his place at the fire by which we were seated, and is responsible for whatever effect my remarks produced upon my host.

After we had drunk some coffee and appeared sufficiently warmed, the Agha proposed to show us a new house which he was building, and of which he was obviously extremely proud. It was curious to see the form which his architectural taste had taken. The edifice is in fact a blockhouse, a square building with very thick walls, two stories high. It has an open court in the middle, and the general construction is precisely that of an ordinary Moorish dwelling. But there are only four windows, one in the middle of each side of the first floor, exactly corresponding to the embrasures for cannon in a real blockhouse. Around them is a recess, professedly for the purpose of private conversation, like the oriel window or *parloir* in the old English halls, but really representing the space requisite for trailing a gun. All the other windows were mere loopholes for musketry. The *luxe* of the house was mainly of a Moorish character, the floors and walls being covered with encaustic tiles; but together with these was a French bed for the Agha, and a few patches of a gaudy flock paper which had the oddest effect in the midst of the tiles on the wall.

Within the fortification there were several Arab

gourbis, asses turned out to pasture, one or two patches of ground cultivated as garden, and a mosque, which last the Agha had recently built. Into the precinct are driven at night a large number of cattle, to insure their safety from wild beasts or plunderers. There were also just outside a number of other *gourbis*, whose tenants would of course, in the event of danger, retreat within the fortification. The whole furnished an excellent parallel to the state of things existing in mediæval Europe. Here was the fort of the great noble, the church of which he was the patron, the retainers who were immediately about his person, and the vassals in the vicinity, who repaired to his standard and sought his protection on the occasion of a foray being made by a neighbour. The Agha's title, too, and his functions, are nearly identical with those of Warden of the Marches. He is, in fact, a Mahometan Percy, with the commandant of the western province of Algeria for his liege lord.

At half-past six we sat down to a dinner furnished with knives, forks, and napkins; for the Agha has the reputation of being *très-civilisé*. First came soup, then a stew of kid, followed by another of mutton, each in a wooden bowl, and finally a dish of kous-kous,* the favourite Arab viand. Wine was provided for the lieutenant and me, but the chief of course drank only water. The lieutenant had a sapper in

* See note at the end of the chapter.

attendance upon him, who was sent for as the soup disappeared, and during the remainder of the dinner sat upon a chair at some distance from us, the *chaouch* (Arab butler) handing him each dish as we had done with it. From him it was sent out to my spahis and the tirailleur, who messed together downstairs. After dinner coffee was brought us in cups of the most delicate porcelain, each placed in a saucer of fretted silver, which fitted like an egg-cup, and the whole set upon an elaborately ornamented circular salver. The cups and salver were, the Agha said, of Morocco workmanship. We then drew round the fire, and the tirailleur found his way in again; but we had little conversation, for the officer persisted, with what I thought extremely bad taste, in addressing himself exclusively to me, and quite ignoring the existence of our host. Irrespectively of all gentlemanly feeling, as the French give the Agha the rank of a general officer in their own army, it seemed only becoming that he should be treated with corresponding respect by a subaltern; and it struck me that he felt the incivility which was put upon him, for about half-past eight he got up, and very shortly wished us good night. Our arrangements for bed did not take us long, for we had simply to lie wrapped up in our cloaks on mattresses of *crin végétal*, which were ranged round the apartment in which we had dined. I believe, however, that I should

have slept very soundly had it not been for a whole army of dogs which kept up a continual bark throughout the night, as they scented the animals which came prowling about the inclosure or heard their cries in the distance. As it was, I do not think I got an hour and a half's sleep in the whole night. The next morning the *chaouch* brought us coffee, and the Agha came to bid us farewell; but I do not believe he had recovered his good humour, and after accompanying us only as far as the top of his staircase, he returned to his own room.

It was exactly six o'clock as the lieutenant and I, with our attendants, rode out of the inclosure of El Borj, and the pools of rain-water were covered with ice,—the first I had seen since leaving Europe. But the day broke beautifully, and we rode on enjoying the fresh morning air, as we descended from plateau to plateau, over ground of the same character as that of the preceding day. After about an hour we came upon a party of four gazelles, who moved off very leisurely, and without the least display of fear. We also sprang several coveys of partridges. As we got lower, the ground became more thickly covered with brushwood, and finally assumed exactly the character of the Sahel of Algiers. The route we were taking was the same as that pursued by the French army after burning Maskara; and small as the quantity of rain was which had fallen in the last forty-eight hours,

it was enough to make one understand the difficulties which they must have had to overcome in their retreat. In several instances we found the path cut by a gully of several yards deep; and in one place the piles of a wooden bridge across a rivulet were so undermined, that the structure slanted, and the leading spahi halted on arriving, from fear of its coming down. However, the scientific part of our body sanctioning the trial, we all scrambled over one by one, keeping close to the higher side, the sapper taking the lead, and I, with a civilian's discreetness, bringing up the rear. Indeed, except for the certainty of getting a wetting, I should undoubtedly have forded the brook. The solitude of our ride was almost complete; we met nobody for several hours, and heard no sound except the cries of jackals in the distance, in the early part of the morning. Here and there we passed a patch of land which had been cleared by the Arabs, and twice we saw their burial-grounds, surrounded with bushes of the camel thorn or wild jujube, which makes an excellent fence against every animal but the camel.

There is a caravanserai about eighteen miles from El Borj where we had intended to breakfast, and before we arrived, its appearance had been anxiously looked for both by myself and the tirailleur, who was like ourselves going to Mostaganem and accompanied us on foot. This poor fellow had not had even the

solitary cup of coffee with which a guest is dismissed; but he kept up merrily with us, cracking jokes with the spahis, and occasionally acting as interpreter between me and them. When at last we rode into the caravanserai, not a soul came to take our horses, and presently a poor woman as yellow as a guinea made her appearance, and said piteously in reply to my demand for something to eat, "Monsieur, tout le monde est malade: il n'y a rien." Everything we saw confirmed her statement. The whole building looked as if it had been attacked with fever, so shaky and dilapidated was it, with several windows broken, and one leaf of the gate off its hinges. I was hungry enough to have eaten my own horse; but there was no alternative but to mount and proceed ten miles farther. Fortunately we had for the last hour been clear of the mountains, and were no longer confined to the shuffling walk which is the usual pace on a long journey. As we cantered over a broad flat plain in the middle of which was a shallow river to be forded, we saw several encampments of nomad Arabs, and the surface of the country was thickly covered with their herds feeding upon the young grass. Another range of low hills was crossed, and brought us to another plain of similar character, and on descending from the broken ground which bounded this, we found ourselves on a regular road which the Government are making from Mostaganem

along the southern side of the valley of the Cheliff by the hands of the military. The lieutenant, whose horse took the lead when we started from El Borj, had announced to me his intention to go on to Mostaganem without stopping; but the brisk pace at which we had proceeded after leaving the fever-stricken caravanserai had taken a good deal out of the steed, and he fell into the rear some time before we reached the village of Aboukir, and was well content to stop and breakfast there with me. The poor tirailleur had been thrown out by the rapidity of our advance, but nevertheless he caught us up before we had finished our meal, as good humoured and merry as ever, although he had come twenty-eight miles (and most of it over very rough ground) without tasting a morsel of food. I ordered him some coffee with my spahis, and when we started—which was within half an hour of his arrival—he appeared again as fresh as a lark, and performed the remaining eight miles to Mostaganem without exhibiting the least sign of fatigue. Yet I do not think he was at all above the average of the *seasoned* African soldier.

In the remaining part of our journey, the defined plateaux one below the other which had characterised the earlier portion, were succeeded by gentle undulations. Cultivation is almost continuous in the neighbourhood of the road after passing Aboukir, and in

the immediate vicinity of Mostaganem it is carried to a high point. There, too, are several country houses to be seen, occupied by rich Arabs, and surrounded with well-irrigated gardens. This is a circumstance which tells much for the security afforded by the French rule; for so long as the war with Abd-el-Kader lasted, this neighbourhood was the scene of continual warfare. A melancholy relic of the times which had so recently passed away met my eye in one of the plains which we had crossed this morning, in the shape of a human thigh-bone lying on the grass.

Mostaganem may be described as a military settlement built upon a hill just over the old Arab town. Two regiments of infantry and one of cavalry are regularly stationed there, and of course this produces a good deal of consumption of all kinds. There is a *place* filled with cafés, two or three hotels, and a few shops; but except for the demand created by the presence of the military force, and the Government *employés*, all would fall into decay. The shops are generally kept by Jews—probably the representatives of the original camp-followers—and the cultivation of the country in the neighbourhood, when it is not effected by the Arabs, is carried on mainly by Spaniards. These are willing to work at forty sous a day, while the French labourer grumbles at receiving only fifty. The French of this class think the presence of the Spaniards a great evil; but they are

far more industrious than the others; and a Guernsey man whom I stumbled upon accidentally, who had long kept a shop in Mostaganem, declared that if it were not for the Spaniards, the colony could not last six years. The women-servants are almost all of that nation, and are said to be much more honest than the corresponding class of French women. But the common French colonist is almost sure to be either a bad subject, or a ruined man whose friends have made a purse to set him afloat in the colony, and get him out of their way. He comes and loiters about on the coast till he has spent almost all his money, and when he has at last got his grant in the interior, he is obliged to borrow to maintain himself while his crop is growing. In this way mortgages spring up, carrying interest at ten or fifteen per cent.; the first unfavourable season the creditor forecloses; and the land passes thus into the hands of some money-lender in the towns, who lets it to a Spaniard or Mahonnais. There is a good deal of speculation in grain; and the poor *colon* generally enters upon his career of ruin by merely mortgaging his crop, which is then sold as soon as it is reaped, at the very time when prices are lowest. The corn merchants know that all, or next to all the corn in the colony is so sold; and, accordingly, raise the price artificially during the interval which elapses before the next harvest. A great number of Maltese have made large fortunes by

speculating in this manner. When the ruined man can return to France, he always does so, but he often leaves behind him the female members of his family; and with a large military population their fate may easily be guessed.

The state of morals appeared to me lower at Mostaganem than at Algiers,—perhaps from the want of that indirect influence which the tone of society of Government House supplied at the latter place. One little trait of manners is worth relating. The landlady of my hotel, apparently a widow-lady, who retained some traces of having once been handsome, was sitting in her *bureau*, listening to the civil speeches of a middle-aged officer, when I entered to obtain some information. There was also present her daughter, a girl of fifteen or sixteen, who sat busily engaged with a book. I had had occasion to call upon an official person of some rank, and my plans were put out of joint by the circumstance of not finding him at his office. "Ah! il est probablement chez sa maîtresse," was the straightforward explanation of my hostess, tendered without the least spice of sarcasm. "Qui est sa maîtresse?" asked the young lady, raising her eyes from her book. I turned to her in some surprise, and then observed that the subject of her study was a volume of George Sand. The mother simply answered, "Marie L——;" informed me that the gentleman I wanted

would no doubt be at his bureau by nine the next morning; and both the ladies at once returned to the occupations which my entry had for the moment interrupted. A French labourer, with whom I had some conversation on the subject of his earnings, declared positively that the reason why the Spaniards of his class were preferred to his own countrymen was, that they invariably emigrated to Africa with their families, and that the female part at once formed connexions with the employers of labour, and then used their influence to promote the interest of their brothers and fathers. I did not altogether believe in his theory; but I thought from all I saw that his facts were not to be rashly rejected. At the same time there is society in Mostaganem, as I can testify from personal experience, where the polish and wit of continental Europe is combined with the tone of an English family; but the circle which answers to this description is a narrow one, and not likely to exercise any influence beyond its own limits.

Very near to Mostaganem, on the road to Arzew, is a village called Mazagran, whither I went in search of some Roman remains which I had been told existed there; but, after a diligent search, I found nothing of the kind. Mazagran, however, is remarkable as the scene of a brave defence made by some French soldiers against an attack of Arabs, in February, 1840. They were only 123 in number, and occupied

a small fort, which was suddenly attacked on all sides by nearly 2,000 of the enemy. The attack was incessant during four days; and the garrison, finding themselves too weak to defend the whole of the fort, withdrew into a single redoubt, which they successfully maintained, losing—strange to say—only a single man. But three-fourths of their assailants were cavalry; and the chief hope of the attack seems to have lain in the belief that want of water would cause the garrison to surrender. There was however, fortunately, a well within the redoubt.

The late French dynasty thought proper to commemorate this feat of arms by a memorial, somewhat disproportionate to the acknowledgment which other deeds, even more remarkable, had received. A public subscription was entered into for the purpose of placing a monument on the very spot which had been so immortalized. With the produce of this a communal school is erected in the very redoubt which was the last hope of the besieged, and hard by a Corinthian column is surmounted by a statue of France surveying the scene with admiration. This is not all. A church is built close by the fort, bearing the inscription on its façade, "Cet édifice a été construit avec le produit d'une souscription nationale en commémoration du fait d'armes de Mazagran." But unhappily the subscription not being sufficient for all these different objects, it was determined not

to build a new church, but to convert a mosque which stood there into one; and this is the real history of what appears. It is to be hoped the Arabs of Mazagran are not attentive to omens: for otherwise what has followed must induce in them the expectation of a Nemesis hanging over their conquerors. Only about a fortnight before I was there, the frame on which the organ was placed gave way, the organ fell, and as I looked in I saw the whole of the church filled with rubbish. I believe that really the foundations had been undermined by water; but such was not the view taken by my cicerone. "Voilà, Monsieur," said he, "comme tout s'est fait en Algérie dès le commencement. L'architecte vole, l'entrepreneur vole, les ouvriers volent, tout le monde vole." It was very providential that the misfortune did not happen during service; as else all the Christian children in Mazagran would have been buried in the ruins, their seat being under the organ-loft. I went into the communal school, where I found only nine boys and eight girls. Two of the former were natives: but the master informed me that the Arabs exhibited great unwillingness to send their children, although they are well aware of the advantages they will gain in qualifying themselves for Government employment by learning the French language. The master complained of the effects of "the fever" in diminishing the numbers of his scholars; and it seems that this

scourge has been more than usually virulent in the province of Oran during the last summer. Mostaganem, where it was previously unknown, had suffered from it.

I devoted one day to visiting Souk-el-Mitou, a village which overhangs the river Cheliff, at about seventeen miles from Mostaganem, and the same distance from the embouchure. Here too I was informed Roman remains existed. But although there are remains of a fortification of considerable extent, these are not Roman, but of the same time and constructed by the same builders as the ruins at Tlemçen. They appeared to me likely to have formed part of a palace of some sultan of Mostaganem; and it is not impossible that their likeness in point of material to the walls of the Mansourah led the Arabs, in their traditionary account of the building of the latter, to introduce the name of such a person. Considerably below these walls in the side of the hill is a fountain surrounded with trees, the water of which is collected in a square stone basin which may possibly be of the Roman period. In front of it is the largest olive-tree I ever saw, resembling in form a pollarded oak. The stem separates into four branches, the circumference of two of which I estimated at six feet six inches and eight feet six inches respectively. I have no doubt the tree is nearly 2,000 years old, and it is still vigorous, and

throws out new stems from its roots. Just at the entrance of the village on the Mostaganem side are likewise some very large olive-trees, but they are equalled by some I afterwards saw near Bona. It was very hot weather when I visited the Roman fountain—about like an August day in England—although only the 16th of March, and I was enabled to enter into the feelings with which this locality (probably sacred to Pan and the Nymphs) would have been sought during the heats of summer in the old pagan times.

Souk-el-Mitou is, like all the other villages in this province, built within the *enceinte* of a loopholed wall; but this is already falling down from decay; and although the site was doubtless originally selected without any regard for sanitary advantages, it is a healthy and prosperous settlement. I should couple it with Cheragas in the central, and Jemappes in the eastern province, as places where the inhabitants are really contented with their lot, and apparently have reason to be so; although even here I heard complaints of interference on the part of the Government in matters of detail, which had much better have been left to the colonists themselves. But the description given me of the fertility of the soil was almost incredible. It is fruit that is chiefly cultivated, and I was told of peaches the size of a child's head, pears weighing more than a kilogramme, grapes, figs, pomegranates, and olives in perfection,

and, in short, everything which could move the desires of a horticulturist. I have, indeed, no doubt that, blessed with a soil something like that of the Brohlerthal, and an unlimited supply of the most delicious water, the sloping gardens of Souk-el-Mitou are a veritable temple of Pomona.

Two or three miles from Souk-el-Mitou, on the road to Mostaganem, is another village of very much the same kind, called Ain Tédelès, the inhabitants of which have grants of land that run down towards the southern bank of the Cheliff. I should very much have liked to explore the valley of this river along the whole of its east and west course as far as the neighbourhood of Milianah, where it is crossed by a bridge, as it is here by one three or four miles below Souk-el-Mitou. The aspect of the country indicates great fertility, the mouth of the Cheliff must in ancient times have been an important port, and I have little doubt that in this interval of about one hundred miles between the two bridges interesting traces of Roman civilisation (of the time of the Antonines) would be found. At Mostaganem, while paying a visit to General Hugo, the commandant, I observed an ancient tumulary stone in the vestibule of his house, and requested permission to copy it. As I was engaged in this operation an aide-de-camp came in, and said that two other large stones were lying face to face in the street hard by, which possibly had inscriptions on

them; and the General politely ordered them to be turned for my inspection. The one proved to be a mere complimentary inscription to the deceased Emperor Antoninus, and therefore probably set up immediately after the accession of his adopted successors, Aurelius and Verus (A.D. 161); but the other, which was unfortunately much mutilated, was of a more important character. It was obviously intended as a tablet to be put up over the gateway of a town, on the occasion of either this, or some new street, being thrown open. The Emperor Hadrian had bestowed some special mark of his favour on the occasion—what, unfortunately, the injuries the stone has sustained prevented me from ascertaining—and the year was A.D. 127 or 128. The efforts of Hadrian were, as is well known, directed to the renovation of the provinces of the Roman empire and the development of their resources. Four years before the tablet of which I am speaking was put up, a new road from Carthage to Theveste (the modern Tebessa) had been completed under his auspices,* and the reverse of his coins often bears the title of "Restitutor Africæ." There seems no doubt therefore that the work referred to in the tablet (whatever was its exact character) formed a part of the general plan for improving the communications between the most important

* This appears from an inscription found at Carthage, which is printed by Shaw.

points in Northern Africa from Cyrene to the Atlantic, of which the so-called Antonine Itinerary gives us the results. I was exceedingly vexed at not being able to learn the exact locality in which this interesting relic had been discovered. General Hugo believed it was brought from the lower bridge of the Cheliff, at the time that excavations were making for its construction, but it was not possible to obtain any certain information on the subject. It is exceedingly to be regretted that the remains of antiquity which the French are continually discovering should not be carefully preserved, and if they are removed from their site, that a well authenticated record of this should not be kept. At present no thought is taken for anything of the kind. Collections are made here and there, but no note is taken of the places from whence the objects collected have been brought,—as fruitless a proceeding as that of forming a museum of fossils without observing the geological strata from which they were derived. Even with reference to the development of the resources of Algeria, a correct knowledge of the Roman routes would be extremely valuable; for those conquerors of the world had an eye for sites and communications which is rarely found in our days. If the matter were brought under the notice of the reigning Emperor of the French, whose position is not altogether unlike that of Hadrian, he would scarcely fail to recognise an opportunity of furthering the

accomplishment of a wise policy in his African dominions, while contributing to the extension of that knowledge of antiquity for which France (as the Memoirs of the Acâdemy of Inscriptions witness) was once distinguished above all other nations.

But alas!

> Dixeris hæc inter varicosos centuriones,
> Continuo crassum ridet Vulfenius ingens,
> Et centum Græcos curto centusse licetur!

A diligence leaves Mostaganem for Arzew every morning at three o'clock, and my friends advised me to go by this as far as St. Leu, a village which the French have built near the site of the ancient Arsenaria, the ruins of which I proposed to visit. The road is the same as that to Oran, until within a mile or two of arriving at Arzew. It runs through the low ground near the sea-shore from within a very short distance of Mazagran, and although not by any means so bad as the route to Tlemçen, is of the same character, so that we several times had to quit the main track, and proceed across the country for some distance. We crossed El Makta, as the lower Habra is called, very near to the sea, and two or three miles below the place where the terrible defeat of General Trezel by Abd-el-Kader took place, which has been described above. The mouth of the river is, in the summer, altogether sanded up. At about nine o'clock I was put down half a mile from St. Leu, and the

diligence proceeded to the modern Arzew, which previously to the French occupation bore the name of El Mersa (the port), and in fact was no doubt the harbour of the ancient Arsenaria, which stood on an elevated plateau about five miles to the east of it. The walls of Arsenaria are distinctly traceable along the north side of the ancient site; and in following these I came upon a subterranean chamber which probably was a cellar or warehouse. By excavation some remains would possibly be found, and no doubt many mosaics laid bare; but there is now nothing on any great scale standing above-ground, as there seems to have been in the time of Shaw, who describes some arches which he saw as having the appearance at first sight of belonging to an aqueduct, but without any channel for the conveyance of water. The French have laid bare the foundations of one house which must have stood in the suburbs of the old town, and have placed within the area a few capitals of columns, and other fragments of sculpture which have been found. But all of these are of very low times, and some of the meanest execution. There are several tumulary stones among them, but most are unmistakeably pagan, and none apparently Christian. Yet Arsenaria appears among the list of African bishoprics. It happens most unfortunately that in the midst of what must have been the area enclosed by the city walls, an Arab tribe is located, who as usual

have made use of the ruins to construct huts for themselves. A close investigation here would probably bring something to light; but such a thing is not possible for an European, whose motives would be altogether misinterpreted by the jealous denizens of the huts.

I had intended to remain for the night in the new town of Arzew, but having completed my survey of Arsenaria soon after mid-day, I was induced to change my plan, and endeavour to push on to Oran the same afternoon. In order to do this, it was requisite to obtain horses from the Arabs; and there being no official of the Bureau Arabe at so small a place as St. Leu, this would have been a matter of considerable difficulty, had I not fortunately made the acquaintance of a French settler who spoke the native language. This man, although quite uneducated, seemed to take a great interest in my inquiries for Roman remains. He left his garden to join me in my exploration of the locality, showed me everything which had been found, and was extremely delighted when I explained to him the meaning of the inscriptions and symbols on the fragments of stone. He told me that at first there was a good deal of jealousy of the settlers on the part of the Arab tribe; but that gradually they got used to each other, and were now very good friends, so that the French used often to pet the Arab children. By the aid of my new friend,

I succeeded in hiring a horse and a guide; but when the two made their appearance, I really repented having changed my intention of remaining for the night at Arzew. The former was a miserable looking animal, like the starved pony of a bankrupt costermonger, with a bridle half chain, half plaited rushes, and the latter a black half negro Arab, barefooted. However, miserable as an Arab horse may appear, he is always sure to possess great endurance; and this wretched looking creature, which seemed to stagger with weakness as I got on his back, carried me and my bag, which I had to put on the pummel of the saddle, into Oran, a distance of more than twenty-five miles, without stopping. It is true that nearly seven hours were occupied in the performance; but, on the other hand, the animal walked more briskly forward at the end than at the beginning of the journey.

The first nine miles of our course lay through a plain covered with pasture, and a few bushes here and there; but afterwards we began to ascend the neck of that mountain mass, terminating in Cape Ferratt, of which the Mount of Lions is the highest summit. We passed through a region thickly covered with brushwood, but I observed no traces either of wild swine or lions, which Shaw remarked in this region. In the highest part of our path, there appeared now and then a few patches cleared and

held by Maltese. But the bush continued, with few interruptions, until we got within half-a-dozen miles of Oran, where the country appeared admirably cultivated, and bearing corn-crops. On all sides of Oran, these appeared to me better, and the land cleaner, than any I had up to that time seen in Algeria.*

The military road from Arzew to Oran turns the mass of hills over which I had passed to the south, and runs near the Sebkah of Arzew, the sight of which I missed through the love which the Arabs have for taking the old track rather than any new one. Perhaps one reason for this preference is that, by so doing, they see less of the European settlers, who continually treat them with harshness and insult, which they dare not resent, but at the same time feel very bitterly. I have more than once seen the driver of a carriage purposely guide his horses in such a way as to compel a party of camels to step into the fields by the side of the road, in order to avoid him. These poor animals are extremely apt to strain themselves in climbing over a bank, which they do in a panic to avoid the strange machine which they see bearing down upon them. A curse always, and not seldom a blow with the whip, is certain to be bestowed upon any muleteer or ass driver who is

* This was before my visit to Great Kabylie, described in an earlier chapter.

slow in clearing his animals out of the road. These are the sort of influences which neutralize, to a great extent, the efforts of the higher ranks of the administration; and it is to be feared will long prevent the possibility of retaining the African provinces without the support of a large army.

The Sebkah of Arzew is of much smaller size than that of Oran; but its deposits are infinitely richer. In the month of July it is generally quite dry; and the carts and mules which come to fetch the salt pass freely over the surface. Its extent is about seven or eight miles in length by half as much in breadth. The salt is of the best quality, and is from three to five feet in thickness. The marshes round about it are extremely favourable to the fattening of horned stock, probably from the impregnation of the soil with salt.

I returned from Oran to Algiers by a merchant-steamer which had arrived two or three days before from Malaga. She was a very slow boat, and horribly dirty; and the captain had had but little experience of that part of the Mediterranean. The wind being slightly from the north, he thought it imprudent to keep near the shore, and consequently the return voyage added nothing to my knowledge of the coast. The only incident which enlivened the voyage was the falling in with two or three shoals of porpoises, not rolling with the tub-like movement which characterises

them in the neighbourhood of the shore, but in full pursuit after small fish, at which they sometimes leapt seven or eight feet, as a trout does at a fly. Two or three gulls followed the course of the shoal, hovering above the leading porpoise, to pounce upon its panic-stricken prey if opportunity offered. One shoal came so close alongside the ship, and followed her course so exactly, that I was tempted to try whether I could not hit one with a pistol while leaping: but no sooner had I brought the weapon on deck than, either from accident, or because (as the sailors asserted) the porpoises smelt the powder, the whole disappeared instantly, and did not show themselves again for some hours.

We did not arrive at Algiers until between nine and ten at night; but little did I expect this circumstance to prevent us from landing. Such, however, was the case. It was necessary we should be approved by the officer of health; and this functionary does not exercise his powers after sunset, except in the case of the mail-steamers. Accordingly, we were obliged to make up our minds to endure the dirt and discomfort of the filthy steamer for another night. The submission with which all the French passengers acquiesced in this stupid piece of official pedantry quite amazed me. But they showed their wisdom in so doing; for remedy there was none. In England the certain result would have been an indignant letter

to the *Times;* but I should like to have seen the face of the editor of the *Algerian Akhbar* on receiving a similar communication. However, early the next morning "la santé" made his appearance, and removed the spell which bound us. I went at once on landing to take a warm bath, and was fortunate enough to carry nothing away with me from *La Henriette* but unpleasant recollections, and a fixed determination never again to renew our acquaintance.

NOTE TO PAGE 214.

The kouskous is prepared in several different ways, but the substratum is in all cases the grain of fine wheat, which after having been crushed is rubbed by the hand, previously dipped in water, on a flat stone, till it presents the appearance of a small round seed like millet. This is simmered over a slow fire with oil, or else the fat from the tail of the broad-tailed sheep. Rich people vary this simple dish by putting figs and raisins in the mess, and pouring cold milk or cream over it. Sometimes it is filled with cubes of mutton or kid's flesh, or even pieces of chicken, which have been previously boiled. It is flavoured with salt and pepper; but that which specially characterises it is the rancid taste from the fat or oil with which the grain is stewed.

CHAPTER IX.

ALGERIA is more than almost any country dependent on the sea for its communications. The littoral may be described in general terms as an aggregation of small provinces, insulated from each other by mountain ranges of difficult passage. These are formed by the several parts of what is called the Northern, or Little Atlas. It is not so much a chain of mountains as a chain of buttresses, supporting the northern side of an elevated plateau, which extends over a space of various breadth, but always considerable, to the south. The southern boundary of this plateau is formed of a similar chain of mountain-buttresses, which appears on the maps under the imposing title of the Great Atlas, although, except in one part, its summits are by no means so high as those of the so-called Little Atlas. This latter starts from the sea-board of Algeria, just to the west of Bougie, and runs west-south-west, forming, first of all, the craggy mass of Great Kabylie, in the southern portion of which are the peaks of Djerjera,

already so often mentioned. Continuing its course at a diminished elevation, and throwing off from itself those lower hills which form the valleys of the Sebaou, the Isser, and the Boudouaou, and are crossed by the road from Algiers into Kabylie, the Little or Northern Atlas attains its extreme southern point shortly before it reaches the meridian of Algiers, from which its direct distance is there about fifty miles. It now takes a turn to the west-north-west, closely approaching the sea in the neighbourhood of Cherchell; and after two more sweeps of similar shape but smaller extent, it terminates at Cape Ivi, the northern boundary of the Cheliff, at its embouchure near Mostaganem.

The Great, or more properly Southern Atlas, starts from the seaboard at Cape Roux, which is the boundary of Algeria towards Tunis, and runs in a general west-south-west direction quite into the territory of Morocco. It is supposed by geographers —although it has never been accurately traced—to terminate in a mountain mass on the shores of the Atlantic, of which the most fabulous accounts were prevalent in antiquity, and to which the name was given which has since been extended to the whole series of elevations. So far, however, as it is comprised within the limits of Algeria, which it divides into two nearly equal portions, the Great Atlas is not a chain at all. Its mountainous character is confined

to a peculiar assemblage of craggy elevations, sixty or seventy miles in diameter, called the Aurès, situated between the meridians of 5° 45′ and 7° east. Here the peaks are some of them 7,000 and 8,000 feet in height, and one has been estimated at no less than 9,373 feet. But to the west of this boss, the mountainous character of the Southern Atlas is much less clearly marked. It assumes, for the most part, the features of a high plateau with irregular elevations; but it retains throughout one important characteristic, namely, that the streams which issue from its southern side all lose themselves, sooner or later, in the sands of the Desert.

The Middle Atlas is a name that has been given to two ranges which may be described as connecting the Northern with the Southern Atlas. The one of these leaves the former a few miles to the north-east of the point noticed above as being the one where it is farthest removed from the seaboard, and takes a course nearly due east, with only one gap in the rampart which it forms, until it meets the Southern Atlas between the Aurès and the sea. The other, rising direct from the south-west bank of the Cheliff, where that river takes a turn near Médéah, sweeps to the south-west, and ultimately strikes the Southern Atlas at an acute angle considerably within the boundary of Morocco. Thus, if the Northern Atlas be regarded as constituting the two sides of a

depressed triangle of which the seaboard is the base, the lines of the Middle and Southern Atlas may be described as forming another larger triangle of similar shape, but in exactly the opposite position.

This distinction of the mountains of Northern Africa into separate ranges, has, it should be observed, no foundation in their geological character, which is identical for all. It is, however, a convenient distribution for the purpose of giving a general idea of the peculiarities of the region which they intersect. It has been remarked that all the drainage to the south of the Great Atlas is ultimately lost in the sands of the Desert: it may be also noted that the whole of that from the northern sides of the Little and Middle Atlas finds its way to the sea. But with the streams which spring from the southern inclines of the Middle and the northern inclines of the Great Atlas,—in other words, with the internal waters of the larger of the two triangular areas just mentioned,—the case is much more complicated. There are two, and only two, outlets for these. The first is furnished by the river Cheliff; the second by the river which at its embouchure (between Djidjelli and Cape Bougaroni) is called Oued-el-Kebir (the Great River). If the channel of the former were to be interrupted by a dyke in the neighbourhood of Médéah, and that of the latter to be similarly intercepted in the neighbourhood of Constantine, the whole of the space between

the Middle and the Southern Atlas would be converted into an immense lake.* Whatever watercourses between these two ranges do not fall into one of the two streams just mentioned, necessarily find their termination in marshes and pools, which vary greatly in their dimensions at the different seasons of the year, and tend—partly by the rank vegetation which under such circumstances soon forms a jungle, partly by the miasma which an all but tropical sun evokes from the exposed mud—greatly to curtail the space over which human industry can be profitably employed. To that portion of Algeria in which the soil is subject to the conditions just described, the French give the name of *Landes*. These landes, or elevated steppes, constitute a kind of middle link between the Tel, or hill country, and the Sahara, the former of which may be regarded as universally susceptible of cultivation under favourable circumstances, and the latter as altogether hopeless.

Two points have been mentioned as marking the only outlets existing for the waters of the central portion of Algeria. The extent of surface drained

* The state of things here supposed may be illustrated by the condition of the plain of Thessaly before the gorge of Tempe was formed; by that of the plain of Bohemia antecedently to its drainage by the present channel of the Elbe in Saxon Switzerland; by the basin of the Rhine between Basle and Bingen previous to the convulsion which tapped the vast accumulation of waters by forming the channel which now extends from St. Goar to the Drachenfels; and by several portions of the valley of the Rhone.

through the westernmost of them by the different affluents of the Cheliff, is about the same as that of the lower basin of the same river, after it has passed the narrow space which divides the Little from the Middle Atlas near Médéah, and commenced its westward course to the sea. Between the meridians of 1° 15′ and 3° east, a large number of considerable streams from the north-west, west, and south-west,—but much fewer and less important from the eastward—unite their waters and run nearly in a north-east direction until they reach the outlet in question, where the river first acquires the name which it thenceforth bears. Both to the east and the west of this upper basin of the Cheliff, the land rises so as to form two new watersheds. The westernmost of these converts the whole of the space between itself and the junction of the Middle and Great Atlas in Morocco into one vast system of pools, while the easternmost does the same for the greater portion of the remaining space. But a small part of this forms an exception. The Oued-el-Rummel (River of Sand) finds its way through a tortuous split of enormous depth in the limestone rock, where the capital of the eastern province of Algeria, Constantine—the Cirta of Jugurtha—stands on a horse-shoe shaped peninsula, with precipitous sides formed by the ravine in question. By this river an area of moderate size in the high grounds south of Constantine is drained of its waters,

and itself, subsequently augmented by several tributaries which take their rise in the Little Atlas, finds its way into the sea under the name of Oued-el-Kebir.*

The difficulties of land communication between Algiers and Constantine will be obvious from the above description. The direct route lies through the pass of the Biban, the passage of which by the French army has been adverted to above.† It is never travelled except by Arabs, or by Europeans from motives of curiosity. Communication for practical purposes is effected entirely by sea, through Philippeville, at which place steamers which leave Algiers for Bona every ten days, always touch. There is also a weekly service between Marseilles and Philippeville, by which the voyage is performed in about three days, the growing importance of the eastern province rendering a direct communication with the mother country a necessity. I embarked at Algiers, on the 30th of March, in a steamer which was engaged, if the weather permitted, to stay some hours at Dellys, Bougie, and Djidjelli, thus giving an opportunity of

* This river is the Ampsaga of Pliny, the western boundary according to him of the Numidia of Massinissa. The name is obviously a native word with a Latin termination, and is, probably, a Kabyle root. Bochart says that *aphsach* signifies "amplus" in Arabic. If this be a word adopted by the Arabian invaders, and not brought by them from their primitive settlements, the modern name *Oued-el-Kebir* (Great River) will appear to be neither more nor less than the translation of *aphsach* or *amsach*, the latter of which would be a mere dialectal variety of the former.

† Page 119.

seeing the settlements on the coast without trouble. We arrived off Dellys after about six hours' steaming in the calmest weather, and there I recognised from the sea the mountain to the north of Tizi-Ouzou, which when there I had felt a desire to climb, in the conviction that I should have a good sea-view from it. Dellys is on or near the site of an ancient town, probably Rusucurium, to which the Emperor Claudius gave the Roman franchise. Ancient coins and amphoræ were discovered in digging the foundations of a military hospital; and just before I left Algiers, a marble sarcophagus, with a bas-relief in excellent condition upon it, had been brought from thence. From the subject of the bas-relief, it would seem as if the corpse the tomb contained had been that of a physician, and perhaps a Christian. I did not hear, however, of any inscription having been discovered at the same time. The style of execution seemed to me to indicate a date not higher than the time of the Antonines. Shaw speaks of the existence of considerable remains near Dellys in his time;* but, unfortunately, the approach of night rendered it

* He speaks of the native town as "built out of the ruins of a large city at the foot of a high mountain, that looks towards the north-east. The ancient city, which appears to have been as large as that at Temendfoust (Cape Matifou), spreads itself quite over the north-east side of this mountain, upon whose summit, to the westward, there is a great part of the old wall, besides other ruins, promising, at a distance, a large scene of antiquities."—*Travels*, p. 88, ed. 1738.

impossible for me to land to examine the locality; and it may very well be the case that in the construction of new buildings by the French since the year 1844, when they took possession of the place, the ancient walls have disappeared, as they have done at Bougie and Hippo.

At a little before eight in the morning we came to an anchor in the harbour of Bougie, and I forthwith went on shore. The commandant, Colonel Augeraud, to whom I had letters, was kind enough to mount both me and a friend who accompanied me on two of his own chargers, in order that we might see as much as possible of the place during the few hours which alone we had to give to it. The beauty of the bay is remarkable. It rather reminded me of the Gulf of Spezzia, which, however, is inferior to it in the grandeur of the mountain forms. We rode up to the top of a rock which stands out in the sea, and is connected by a narrow neck of land with the main. There is a lighthouse upon it, the base of which is 830 feet above the sea. The light revolves in eight minutes, and is said to be visible at a distance of forty-eight miles. The path to this point is a zig-zag, sometimes cut out of the rock, and now and then artificially built up, which it would be a nervous business to ride up on any other horse than an Arab. But these sagacious creatures, though exhibiting unmistakeable proofs of their mettle on the road,

became as tractable as lambs as soon as ever we got to a dangerous part. Colonel Augeraud told me that the vicissitudes through which Bougie had passed had obliterated all trace of ancient remains above ground, but that whenever excavations were made some trace of former times generally appeared. The neighbourhood, however, contained many objects of great interest to the antiquarian as well as the geologer; the iron mines in the mountains having been worked from very early down to quite recent times. Bougie is the Salda of Pliny and Strabo. It completely answers to the description of the latter as "a great port," although it would only be such for vessels of the kind used by the ancients. It was once connected with Rusucurium by two roads, the one of which passed along the coast, while the other went inland, probably between the Djerjera range and the northern bank of the Oued-el-Sahel, the former of which it turned, leaving it on the right hand as it regained the coast. Between these two roads would be included the whole of what is called Great Kabylie, then, as now, a highly fertile country, supplying large quantities of oil, honey and wax, cereals, and wine, the whole of which would readily find an outlet, either at Dellys or Bougie, by one or the other of the roads in question.

From Bougie eastwards, the high mountains come close down upon the shore, but they recede con-

siderably in the neighbourhood of Djidjelli, which is only five or six hours sail. Its approach is dangerous on account of the proximity of a hidden shoal, called La Salamandre, from a French vessel which was lost upon it a few years ago. The dimensions of this are not ascertained with exactness; but when the wind blows off the land, as it did on the occasion of my visit, a steamer can escape it by keeping close to the shore. To speak of either harbour or roadstead at Djidjelli would be a misnomer. There is a string of rocks in front of the place, on one of which a lighthouse is erected, and by uniting these a breakwater might be formed which would furnish some shelter. At present, nothing can look more dangerous than the port, there being no shelter at all, and the rocks just mentioned, which lie about a mile from the shore, suggesting, by the foam which breaks over them upon the least show of sea-breeze, what the result of a gale from the same quarter would be. We cast anchor off Djidjelli at eight o'clock at night in a perfect calm. But my barometer began to fall, and by six the next morning it had gone down four millimeters. At eight the wind began to get up, and soon afterwards the vessel rolled from the effect of an underground swell, the result of wind out at sea. The rocks to windward of us dashed the waves which broke upon them into clouds of white foam, and the sky began to look murky and mischievous.

Obviously, it was desirable that we should lose no time in getting up steam and securing a good offing. There had been fortunately very little to land, and nothing to take on board; the trade of Djidjelli consisting of little else than military stores sent from Algiers, and a small quantity of wheat and barley, which is exported in small coasting vessels. The town, in fact, is nothing but a row of buildings subsidiary to the necessities of a military occupation. Its site is very inferior in point of beauty to that of Bougie,—the country around for a considerable distance consisting of sloping hills, cultivated in several parts (though not continuously) until the ground becomes too steep. On weighing anchor we stood well out to sea, as the wind had greatly increased, and rain came on with mist and hazy weather. The ship was very light, and consequently rolled in a way to send almost all the passengers below, until a sufficient offing had been obtained to allow her head to be put to the north-east, when some sail was made on the foremast which produced something more of steadiness. After doubling Cape Bougaroni, our course was laid to the south-east, and we soon got into much smoother water. The atmosphere too cleared, and we were enabled again to benefit by our proximity to the land to observe the aspect of the shore. The mountains still appeared to come close down to the coast, except at Collo, where a space intervenes

which is filled with small conical shaped offsets from the main range, like skirmishers thrown forward from a line of battle. Next to the Gulf of Bougie, Collo appeared to me the most picturesque spot on the whole coast. The point which is doubled just before entering the Gulf of Stora, in which Philippeville lies, is formed by two or three islands, which perhaps in early ages were united, in front of the mainland. A lighthouse stands on one of them, similar in position, but inferior in altitude, to the one at Bougie. There is no protection for ships at Philippeville, and the steamer dropped her anchor at Stora, about three miles off. From this point we proceeded in a row-boat to Philippeville, where the landing-place consists of nothing but a flight of movable steps hanging from a small temporary wooden pier. Up these it was no easy task to make one's way; for they were beset by a crowd of Maltese and Arabs, ready to pounce upon every article of baggage, without the least regard to the inclination of the owner, and carry it off to any other quarter than its proper destination. But once landed, I found comfortable quarters in the Hotel de France, a house not fifty yards from the landing-place, kept by a retired officer of the army. My apartment was a small one, but it was perfectly clean, and commanded a noble sea-view; and the attention of the people of the hotel left nothing to desire.

Philippeville occupies the site of an old Roman

town (Rusicada), of which some considerable remains exist. The most important are the cisterns, by means of which the modern town is supplied, as the ancient one was, with an abundance of excellent water. The reservoir appears to have been originally a large oval, which was afterwards divided into seven cisterns by longitudinal partitions. Each cistern is arched over, and has a door at both ends; and when these are opened, the effect of the light let in upon the water and reflected from it is extremely curious. It is impossible not to fancy that the fluid all comes through a circular tunnel at the end of each cistern; whereas in fact the whole are supplied by a single fountain at the side of the oval reservoir. This spring did not appear to me particularly strong; but it is said never to fail even in the driest summer. The cisterns were said, by the keeper of the reservoir, to be 9.30 metres (nearly 30 feet) in depth. The diameter of the arch which covered them did not seem half as much.

Next to the cisterns, the remains of the ancient theatre are the most interesting relic. Advantage was taken of the side of a hill in scooping out the *cavea*, or pit, of which nearly the whole is preserved, and if cleared of rubbish would make a fine ruin. Unfortunately, on the very place where excavations would be sure to lay open the orchestra and stage, a house has been erected for the communal school. The walls of

the proscenium were found in digging its foundations. In the area occupied by these ruins are collected various relics of the Roman times,—fragments of one or two statues, capitals of columns, and several inscriptions, a few of which are tumulary stones. Among the last I did not see a single Christian one, although the degenerate style of the decorations of the theatre, as well as the emperors' names on the inscriptions, indicate very low times. One of the last-mentioned was intended as a piece of flattery to the Emperor Caracalla. In the year when it was put up (A.D. 215) he had come from Antioch to Alexandria; and doubtless it was expected by many that he would continue his progress through the north of Africa. This prospect would not fail to stimulate the ingenuity of such provincials as desired to recommend themselves. It was on the cards that the emperor might go to the play at Rusicada, and in default of better entertainment might listlessly read over the inscriptions which met his eye; in which case some small crumbs of favour might be cast to those who showed how anxiously they desired them. In the monumental records of this time throughout North Africa, nothing is so striking as the proof which they afford of a vulgar lust for petty distinctions, accompanied by an entire disregard of the means by which these might be attained. One man puts up a monument to his patron, by whose favour

he had been enabled to fill the offices of his town at an earlier age than the law permitted; another makes the same public acknowledgment to his, on behalf of his son. But the most common form of a mean ostentation is, for the holder of a provincial dignity to proclaim to the world, that, in addition to the payment which he had agreed to make in consideration for the honour, he likewise gave something or other to boot, the money value of which is carefully set down on the stone which has handed down the memory of the whole transaction to posterity.

The country in the immediate neighbourhood of Philippeville, on the road to Constantine, is flat, but both to the east and west of this plain the hills rise steeply; and to go direct by land, either to Collo on the west, or Bona on the east, is only possible on horseback. I rode eight or nine miles out on the way to Collo, under the guidance of a spahi, whom the commandant of Philippeville, Colonel Lepasset, had politely placed at my service. We reached a *col*, not less (I should think) than 1,200 or 1,300 feet above the sea, by paths winding in terraces up the mountains, here covered with a rich underwood of laurustinus, arbutus, myrtle, lentisque, and a small-leafed laurel, which at this time (the first week of April) was in flower, and filled the whole atmosphere with perfume. There was also a large quantity of the yellow genista of Spain and the south of

France, and, more remarkable than anything else, a gigantic heath, rising to the height of six or seven feet, and bearing a beautiful white flower. Out of this underwood cork-trees rise, and in it one heard birds singing, and no frogs croaking—both rather remarkable phenomena in Algeria. The ravines are exceedingly steep, and in order to ascend them the path is obliged to wind in all directions. Besides the spahi who was our guide, another had been ordered to attend us, as I was accompanied by a friend. This man not being forthcoming when we started, galloped after us, and when I first caught sight of his grey horse and scarlet bournous among the foliage, it seemed as if he was coming to meet us. The *col* mentioned above commands an exquisite view. To the east-north-east lay Philippeville, and the route by which we had come from it: westward we looked on the cape which forms the western boundary of the Gulf of Stora; while inland there were the mountains and valleys inhabited by the Kabyles, of which we saw three or four villages in the distance. At the point where we halted, is the limit between what is called *civil* and *military* territory,—in other words, between the locality in which offences are cognisable by the ordinary tribunals and that in which the only appeal is to martial law. A short distance before we reached it, we saw a Kabyle girl gathering sticks on the side of the mountain.

As soon as she observed the European dress, she screamed out, threw down her bundle, and plunged into the thicket. The scanty population of these parts is apparent from the circumstance, that in the whole of this ride the only human beings we saw were two Spaniards cutting wood, three Arabs with mules, a fourth (a very old man) that we passed, sitting on a lump of quartz rock that stuck out of the road-side, and this Kabyle girl. The underwood furnishes excellent shelter for the wild boars which abound there, as appeared by the traces left by their tusks upon the roots of the trees; and the spahis told me that every fine evening there was a *battue* of them.

On our return, after having got back about half-way home, we left the regular track, and, turning down a steep path, rode through a Kabyle village. The only living creature visible at first, was a half-naked child, with its neck hung round with amulets. The little imp set up a scream, being obviously much alarmed, and some dogs began to bark, which brought half-a-dozen women out of the huts, the men being all away at work. The spahi soon explained to them that we intended no harm, and we proceeded on our course over ground so steep that, for a part of the way, the two soldiers got off and led their horses, although they afterwards insisted, that for an Arab road, it was an extremely good one. At last, after

crossing a brook, we ascended to a road which led into Philippeville by the other side of the ravine from which we had just emerged, and saw very near us the head of the fountain from which the Philippeville cisterns are supplied.

The day after this ride, we took another in an opposite direction, to the eastward of the town. Here there were some attempts at European cultivation; but, unhappily, fever is so prevalent in the plain, that scarcely any but Maltese cultivators seem to hold their ground. One French village through which we rode,—Damremont,—was all but deserted. The houses were in many instances tumbling down, and one rather large building, an asphodel distillery, had been actually shored up to prevent its falling. It was abandoned, though some apparently valuable plant, in the shape of vats, was still to be seen there. Never have I beheld such a picture of desolation as this village: but what must the character of the masonry have been, when houses fall to the ground within twenty years of their erection? We passed within sight of another village—Vallée—which the spahi said was nearly in the same condition as Damremont. Both the one and the other are between three and four miles from Philippeville, and are, or rather were—for, like Troy, they must be spoken of in the past tense—included in the same commune with that town. Philippeville itself has the reputa-

tion of being comparatively healthy, but the plain in the rear of it has almost a worse reputation than the Metidja. All the sewage on the east side of the town is drained into open ditches by the side of the road. Into these ditches the sewers open at a distance of not more than 100 or 150 yards from the town gate, in the immediate vicinity of a corn-market which is built there; and the stench which arises on the spot, and for several hundred yards of the road lower down, was, even at the time of the year I experienced it, insupportable. What it must be in the summer, it is difficult to imagine.

The town of Philippeville is built within a sort of gap in the steep hills which form the margin of the sea. Both to the right and the left of the landing-place which has been described, these descend almost precipitously on the sea-side, but their slopes towards the land are more gentle; in these respects exactly resembling the Sahel of Algiers. A good road has been made on the western side as far as the town of Stora. On the eastern the mountain is even steeper. It is crowned by the military barracks, which are built on an esplanade which has been artificially levelled, the earth removed having been thrown into the sea. With a great deal of labour a zigzag road has been conducted up to the barracks on the seaward face of the rock, and planted with trees where it was possible to gain some small extent of level

surface. This is intended for a promenade. It is a great pity that the site of the ancient theatre of Rusicada was not selected for this purpose: but the whole of the earthworks have been executed by the soldiers, without any additional pay; and it was perhaps more easy to induce them cheerfully to devote themselves to a labour which seemed like an embellishment of their own quarters. Before I left Philippeville, a dinner in the open air was given by the commandant to the whole force, as an acknowledgment on his part of the way in which they had executed their task. Unfortunately, I had made arrangements for visiting Jemappes, an agricultural colony about twenty-eight miles off, on the day on which this banquet took place, or I should have been much interested in observing the spirit manifested by the soldiers towards their chief. If one may judge by the ready respect on the one part, and the considerate kindness on the other which were exhibited on ordinary occasions, it must have been excellent, and I was told that in fact it was so. One item of the bill of fare, as related to me, was curious. It consisted of 1,200 hares caught by the Arabs of the vicinity, who had been set to work for the purpose.

The roadstead of Stora is tolerably good, being protected from all winds except those between the north and east, and there perhaps it might be possible to

construct a port by means of an artificial breakwater. But from the absence of natural stone fit for the purpose, the expense would be enormous. An even greater obstacle exists in the circumstance that the hill descends so steeply in the immediate neighbourhood, that there is no space for quays or warehouses. The whole of the flat surface available at Philippeville for this purpose would not be sufficient for the business of an ordinary London wharfinger; and yet Philippeville is the natural, if not the only possible outlet for the produce of the province of Constantine, the richest portion of the possessions of the French in Africa. At present, whatever is exported is embarked in barges at Philippeville, and thus shipped on board the vessels lying at Stora. Of course the expense of freight under such circumstances must be fatal to any extensive traffic.

Jemappes, one of the few successful agricultural colonies of the French, dates from the year 1848 only. Like almost every other village, it is provided with a loopholed wall, as a defence against any sudden attack of the natives, and its situation is on a low mamelon, in the midst of a very fertile plain, surrounded by hills as yet uncleared. The water is excellent and abundant, and the whole population appeared healthy, cheerful, and thriving. The inn in which I found quarters was a very humble one, but it was perfectly clean, and I got an excellent

dinner, and every attention that I could wish. The population of the village is somewhat under 600. There are several Germans among them, and some Maltese, Piedmontese, and Spaniards; but the bulk of the population is French. Whether it will long remain so is very doubtful, for although the locality is healthy, from the abundant water-supply and the hills around not intercepting the sea-breezes, and although the fertility of the soil is such that the people seem almost amazed at it, the Frenchman always hankers after home. My host, who had not a fault to find with his position, and acknowledged that he had grown comparatively rich, told me that he did not intend to stay more than two or three years longer. Yet this is in every respect a prosperous settlement. The soil reminded me in appearance of the lower part of the valley of the Brohl, near Rolandseck on the Rhine. The people say that it will produce anything whatever, and that as soon as ever a tree is put in, it seems to grow as by magic. Two crops of potatoes are produced annually, and three cuttings of tobacco. One man told me that 100 mulberry-trees, on which he had expended only fifty days' labour, gave him a silk crop worth 4,000 francs. The vine and the fig also thrive admirably; and I was informed that the sweet chestnut was the only tree which did not succeed. The only drawback to the locality seems to be the scorpions, which

are very numerous, and the wild-boars, which find shelter in the uncleared wood round about, and do much mischief to the grain crops, which are chiefly grown by the Arabs. There are also more lions here than in any other part of the province of Constantine except on the borders of Tunis; but these animals are not looked on as an evil, for they keep down the numbers of the wild boars, which constitute their favourite food, and the consequence is that they are never attacked unless they do mischief to the cattle of the Arabs. About a month before I was at Jemappes two of these exceptional cases occurred. One, a very fine lion, weighed 243 kilogrammes (about 530 lbs.). He was audacious enough to attack a herd in the full light of day, at half-past four in the afternoon, and kill two cows. Upon this the whole tribe turned out, and in three-quarters of an hour the offender had ceased to live. My host told me that his flesh tasted like beef, and that he had salted a piece of it, and sent it as a present to his father-in-law at Paris. The other lion was killed while following his legitimate pursuit, by an Arab boy of about fifteen years old. The latter had been watching a piece of green corn in the immediate neighbourhood of the wood, with a gun in his hand to shoot the wild swine who might be tempted by its proximity to their haunts. One of them appearing, he fired at it, and immediately afterwards heard the

roar of a lion, who was probably engaged in a common cause with himself. He immediately got up into a tree for safety, and reloaded his piece, and just as this was done the lion appeared underneath, and roared at him. This was too tempting an opportunity; he fired, and the ball entered the animal's mouth and struck a vital part, for he was found dead the next morning four or five hundred yards from the tree.

It is the common belief of the Jemappes colonists that the lion will never attack a man unless he is provoked. On returning to Philippeville next day in the vehicle which performs the service between the two places—a sort of gardener's cart on two wheels and drawn by three horses—we had a curious proof of this. There were for our companions two Jemappes settlers, and the wife of a third. About a couple of miles from the village the wood of the uncleared hills comes down very near to the road, and as we approached this, a large animal appeared standing in the middle awaiting our arrival. One of the two men broke off the conversation which had been going on with the words,—"*Voilà un lion.*"

"*Non,*" said the second, "*c'est un chien; ah oui! c'est un jeune lion.*"

"*Oui,*" joined in the lady, "*c'est un lion; il y est souvent.*"

The beginning of this discourse naturally awakened

unpleasant sensations in one whose leonine experiences were entirely derived from the Zoological Gardens; but the end of it effectually changed them into a strong feeling of curiosity. The whole argument had been conducted with the same entire absence of personal considerations, which would characterise a discussion between two English farmers as to whether a green crop in the distance was wheat or barley; and I really regretted when it appeared that on this particular occasion the "habitual lion" had been replaced by an extremely large mastiff dog, who had apparently lost his master, and was watching in the most likely place to meet him.

This little incident gave rise to another lion story, told by one of the Jemappes colonists. Two French soldiers, who had been in the village for some purpose or other, set off one day to proceed to El Arouch, a settlement on the road between Philippeville and Constantine, to which there is a direct route from Jemappes by a path through the bush. They did not start together, and the one who commenced the journey first was much intoxicated. After proceeding some distance, in the course of doing which he lost his sword, he felt himself overcome with fatigue, and stretching himself on the grass fell into a sound sleep. His companion, who was perfectly sober, following after him a time, picked up his sabre, and at last found the slumberer on the grass. He gave him

a kick and called to him to get up, when, to his horror there rose up—not the man but a huge lion, that lay couched by his side, which he had taken for part of the trunk of a tree covered with grass. The sober soldier instantly ran off, under the impression that his comrade had been destroyed by the animal, after losing his sword in an unsuccessful combat with it; but the lion, instead of pursuing him, resumed his place by the side of the still sleeping man. After a time the latter awoke too, and got upon his legs, much astonished at discovering the company he had been keeping. The lion also again rose, but without any sign of ferocity; and when the soldier set off on his route, accompanied him, walking close by his side for several miles, as far as the immediate neighbourhood of El Arouch, where, probably because the forest there ceases, he turned about, and sought his old haunts again.

Outside the walls of Jemappes a market is held once a week for traffic with the native population. Arabs come thither from the south, and Kabyles from the mountains on the coast. The latter manufacture a rude kind of pottery, as well as small articles of smiths' work, and these are conveyed by the former on the backs of camels far into the interior. On my return to Philippeville at an early hour in the morning, I met several of these Kabyles on their way to the market with their wives. The

general practice is for the husband to ride and the wife to walk barefoot by his side; but when the beast of burden has not too heavy a load, this relation is sometimes modified by taking the lady up behind. I scarcely ever saw it reversed. The Kabyle women not wearing veils, one was enabled without difficulty to see how very frightful they are, although they yield the palm of ugliness both to Arabs and Mauresques. They seem, like all savages, extremely fond of ornament, especially of earrings, of which they wear four or five inserted in the same holes of the ears. These are enormous metallic rings, some four inches in diameter, and to prevent their weight stretching the ear down, they are made to hang by a loop of hair or silk twist passing over the head, which wholly or partially sustains them.

Although the distance between Philippeville and Jemappes is only twenty-eight or thirty miles, and as much as twelve of these are coincident with the main road from Philippeville to Constantine, we were as much as seven hours both in going and returning. Of these, however, nearly two were passed at St. Charles in breakfasting and baiting the horses. This is a dreary-looking village, originally selected for its advantages as a military position near the confluence of two small rivers. I had some conversation there with a German labourer, who had formerly been a soldier, but had married the widow of one of the

concessionaires. She had lost five children by her first husband, as well as their father, from the fever, and had alienated the land which the latter had received, but she still retained the house, and lived in it. The second husband worked as a gardener, and said he found no difficulty in obtaining good employment as a labourer; he generally had fever in the summer, but not badly. There is a roofless house of considerable pretensions standing on some high ground which overhangs the greater part of the village; and this man informed me that it had been built by a speculator, who had obtained a grant of a large quantity of ground when the village was first established; but that its completion had been put a stop to by the failure of this man, unfortunately not before he had succeeded in defrauding an Arab of consideration—the kaïd of the district—of the sum of 2,000 francs, for which he gave him forged bills. The case was brought into court, and the swindler outlawed; but the poor Arab's money was irretrievably lost. This transaction happened in the year 1849, and the house is rapidly falling down. I fear that the original population of St. Charles cannot have been brilliant examples of probity,—for the landlord of the little inn where I breakfasted, one Joseph Spitery, was equally remarkable for the extortionate character of his charge and the bad quality of the food he supplied. There were two or three

loose fellows hanging about the house, one of whom, a Maltese, expressed a great desire to enter my service. He professed himself unable to get work, which for an able-bodied man in Algeria is exactly the same thing as proclaiming himself a worthless vagabond. To be sure, the man's physiognomy was singularly forbidding, and other persons may have drawn the same inference from it that I did myself, —that neither my life nor property would be very safe with such a domestic. However, there was plenty of outdoor work to be done, for which no one would be very scrupulous in the choice of a workman; but for this my new acquaintance did not seem to have much taste, being desirous, as he said, of travelling and seeing the world.

CHAPTER X.

The traffic between Philippeville and the interior of the province of Constantine is the most important in Algeria, and is daily increasing, from the growing disposition of the native population to devote themselves to agricultural pursuits. Nevertheless, the road over which the whole of the produce of the country must pass to be embarked, is in a very bad condition, not from wilful neglect, but from an apparently irreparable deficiency of stone for metalling the surface. During the summer it is traversed by an ordinary French diligence daily, as far as Constantine; but in the rainy season the service is often interrupted. The amount of rain which falls on the northern coast of Algeria increases considerably as one goes from west to east; a phenomenon for which I am quite unable to give a sufficient reason, but which is ascertained beyond a doubt.* The soil of the country, saturated with

* Observations extending over five years gave for the annual rain-fall at Oran, 40 centimetres; for that at Algiers, 81; and for that at Philippeville, no less than 120.

moisture, changes into deep mud, and effectually hinders locomotion. In default of stone for metalling, great efforts are made in parts of the eastern province to keep the routes in some sort of order, by flattening them with an iron roller of enormous weight. One of these machines, which I saw in operation a few miles from Bona, had no less than thirty mules harnessed to it. The cylinder was more than six feet in diameter, and worked in a wooden floor which had been heaped with stone to increase the pressure. It was impossible to turn it, and, therefore, means were provided for harnessing the animals to either end as occasion demanded.

In going to Constantine, the country in the immediate neighbourhood of the road presents the appearance of being well cultivated for a considerable distance from Philippeville. Four or five miles brings one to a little village, St. Antoine, which is, unlike its neighbours Damremont and Vallée, extremely prosperous. As at Jemappes, the water is plentiful and good, and the soil favourable to all products except the chestnut. There are thirty *concessionaires*, all French, whose grants were of not less than five hectares each; but, as elsewhere, the labourers are mostly Germans, Piedmontese, and other foreigners; and in course of time these will probably become tenants, the proprietors withdrawing into Philippeville, or even returning to France, and leaving the manage-

ment of their properties to an agent. At El Diss, which is about nine miles from Philippeville, the Arabs have become tenants of the French, paying their landlords a corn-rent of half the produce.

The road for the first twelve or fourteen miles is the same as that to Jemappes, and for this extent and five or six miles farther, European cultivation appears to be going on favourably, and the clearance of the country to be proceeding steadily. The bush recedes every year farther from the neighbourhood of the road, as the requirements of the colonists for fuel or fresh soil increase. For a few miles, before arriving at El Arouch, it entirely vanishes, but at the latter place it temporarily reappears. This is the site of a fortified camp, which was established in 1844 to secure the communications of Constantine with Philippeville and Bona, to which latter place there is a packhorse road from this point, passing through Jemappes, which is about seventeen miles distant. It was on this road that the adventure related in the last chapter took place. Between St. Charles and El Arouch is the village of Gastonville, where the Republican Government, immediately after the revolution of 1848, established an agricultural colony of Parisians. Such of these as remained naturally took to keeping inns or cafés, and their land is cultivated by Maltese and Spaniards. After passing El Arouch, the character of the country changes. It becomes

clear and open, with not a tree to be seen except the wild olive. The traveller is in fact entering upon the limestone which forms the substance of the plateau of the Atlas. Still, however, the cultivation of cereals goes on, and the olive-trees are very generally grafted. Wherever this last is the case, it bespeaks an European proprietor or tenant. The grafting of the wild olive has only been introduced recently, and nowhere, that I saw, has been adopted to any great extent, except in the Eastern province. But it has been extremely successful, and is undoubtedly one of the most likely means of developing the resources of the country: for there is no natural production to which the soil seems so universally favourable as the wild olive. The magnitude of the trees perfectly astonished me. They are often forty or fifty feet high, and in some localities attain the size of an elm of forty years' growth in England. The colour of the foliage too is very different from that of the Italian olive, being a much darker green. About two miles from Bona there is a grove of these trees, of such a size that I would not believe my eyes at a distance; and took the pains of going up to them to make sure that I was not deceived.

From El Arouch the ascent becomes gradually more marked; and a short time before reaching El Kantour (the gap), the skilful hand of the engineer is visible in the terraces by which the route is carried

up the mountains to the pass by which the traveller enters upon the Atlas plateau. I estimated the height of the *col* at El Kantour at about 1,950 feet above the sea-level. Immediately after passing it, the road descends again to the level of 1,450 feet, and from thence as far as the neighbourhood of a point called El Hamma, where a hot-spring of great force bursts out of the ground, proceeds, rising and falling alternately, over a limestone soil, which is bare of every kind of tree, but in the vicinity of the road very often broken up and bearing fairly grown grain-crops. These are sown sometimes by Arabs, who are only partially nomadic; but more generally by Kabyles, who are altogether stationary, and much cleaner farmers as well as more industrious than their Mahometan brethren. Beyond the zone of cultivation stretches away the bare steppe, grey with the leaves of the wild artichoke dominating over the rest of the herbage with which it is covered. The view is bounded by low mountains of limestone, and the general appearance of the whole reminded me a good deal of many parts of Cumberland.

The Hamma (Water) is something more than fifty miles from Philippeville, and about ten from Constantine. It is at the head of one of the cracks (so to speak) in the limestone stratum, which converge into the main split through which the Oued-el-Rummel bursts; and the stream which issues forth falls into

the valley of the latter, after running only two or three miles. The change in the scene from the bare surface of the limestone steppe to the rich vegetation of the oasis caused by the Hamma, struck me very forcibly, as it was the first thing of the kind I had seen. Every kind of tree springs up luxuriantly; among them the date-palm, the fig, and the pomegranate. The road to Constantine now begins regularly to descend, and at last, at about four miles before arriving, turns suddenly to the eastward, and the capital of the Numidian kings stands before us, on the noblest site, I should think, in the whole world. The descent still continues towards the bank of the Rummel; and at its lowest point, when within a mile of the city as the crow flies, is between 900 and 1,000 feet below it. The gigantic pedestal of rock on which the lordly Cirta is enthroned, is an island on all sides but its south-west, and on the greater part of that. The remainder is occupied by an isthmus, over which alone a wheeled carriage can enter the walls. On every other part the Rummel runs through a deep ravine, the sides of which are precipices, so nearly touching one another that here and there they are actually connected half-way down by a natural bridge of rock, 200 feet below which the river (a brawling brook in summer, but in winter a roaring torrent) rushes on to take its leap at the Falls; while for an equal or greater height above, the blue

limestone rises in perpendicular cliffs. The west side of the peninsula faces the valley up which the road passes; and approaching it shortly before sunset, glowing under the rays of a setting sun, which at the same time poured floods of light through the rich vegetation of the valley, my companion and I agreed that we never had seen such a landscape. What must it have been, when the esplanade on the top of the rock was occupied by Doric edifices,* instead of the frightful line of barracks which now crowns it!

The road which, after turning into the valley of the Oued-el-Rummel, has proceeded along its northern bank, crosses by the Pont d'Aumale, a bridge constructed by the French immediately under the city, and winds up the hill by rather steep terraces to attain the isthmus on the southern side. This is the point at which the town was stormed in the successful attempt of October 13th, 1837. General Damremont, who had commanded the expedition, had been killed the day before, while visiting one of the breaching batteries, and the assault was conducted by General Valée. During the actual storming of the town, the inhabitants endeavoured to escape, but the only gate which afforded them the chance of

* In the time of Shaw, some traces of these remained, showing the scale on which they were built. "Upon the brink of the precipice to the northward, there are the remains of a large and magnificent edifice, where the Turkish garrison is lodged at present. Four of the bases, each seven feet in diameter, with their respective pedestals, are still in their places."—P. 126.

success was the one which opened on a bridge then standing, but destroyed two years ago, which crossed the ravine on the south-east side, resting upon the natural bridge of native rock which has been described above. But besides the narrowness of the outlet thus presented, the heights on the other side of the gorge were occupied by the French, and the wretched fugitives in their despair resorted to the frightful expedient of lowering themselves by ropes from all sides into the abyss below. Multitudes perished by these breaking; and when the French at last became masters of the town, they were horrified at seeing the ravine heaped with mangled corpses of men, women, and children. The resistance was a desperate one, and Colonel Lamoricière, who led the storming party, suffered severely from the explosion of a powder magazine at the moment when his efforts were being rewarded with success.

The space through which the French advance upon the walls took place was occupied until 1836 by a fauxbourg, constructed mainly of old Roman materials.* It was, from military considerations, destroyed in that year by Hadji-Ahmed, the Bey of Constantine, after the unsuccessful expedition of the

* It must have been built within the previous century, for Shaw describes the site thus:—"The neck of land is about the breadth of half a furlong, being entirely covered with a series of broken walls, cisterns, and other ruins, which are continued quite down to the river."—P. 126.

French, as the circumstances of the first siege showed conclusively that the only vulnerable part of the city was this point. When I entered, the sun was just dipping, and several Arabs were performing their devotions among broken capitals of columns and other débris, which lay about on the edges of this neck of land. It was a strange spectacle of the vicissitudes of fortune, but only the first of many such that this interesting city presented. In the siege and since the occupation no less than 4,000 houses have been destroyed by the conquerors, and an arsenal constructed, with barracks for 10,000 men, in the Kazbah. In making excavations for this purpose, the ancient cisterns were discovered, which had probably remained concealed ever since the Arab invasion. They are built partly of tufo and partly of blue limestone, both of which exist near at hand, and they required no repair before being made available. So extensive are they, that it has been found necessary only to use half of them, and the remainder are employed as storehouses. But recently another discovery has been made of vast magazines in which corn was formerly laid up, spacious enough to contain a year's consumption for the whole population. These were being cleaned out at the time of my visit, and I did not see them. Wherever any excavation is made, old Roman work of some kind or other is found, and everywhere portions appear, built into the houses of the Arabs. In one

of the three mosques still standing there are fifty or sixty columns, no two of which are alike. All have been constructed of fragments of the Roman town. The walls of the Kazbah have been utilized as a sort of museum. Some of the numerous inscriptions which are daily dug up have been let into them, both inside and outside of the precinct; and one sees the swarthy *tirailleur indigène* mounting guard under some police notice in the French language, flanked by a votive offering from a Roman freedman to the honour of his patron, or one from a military officer to the genius of a Roman emperor. I was fortunate enough to have letters of introduction to one of the few persons in Constantine possessing any taste for antiquity—M. Cherbonneau, who is professor of modern Arabic—and, through him, not only to save the time which I must otherwise have wasted in seeking for objects of interest, but to enjoy much ampler means of communication with the natives than would otherwise have been possible. We made a tour of the Arab quarter of the town by night; and M. Cherbonneau, who, from a perfect knowledge of the native language and a habit of doing little kindnesses for the people, seems to be extremely popular with them, was continually stopped for a conversation. My companion and I excited a good deal of attention as Englishmen, being no less strange an object to the people than they were to us. The streets through which we

passed are even narrower than the Moorish portion of Algiers. Like them, they are filled with the low shops occupied by the tradesmen, but the commodities are of a much more various character, Constantine being, in fact, the entrepôt for the whole trade of the eastern province. There is a perfect blaze of light from the enormous number of small wax-candles or oil-lamps with which each stall is illuminated. One of the former is generally stuck in every sack of grain, or nuts, or other production which admits of such an operation, the mouth of the sack being always turned back to exhibit the article for sale.

At one of these booth-like shops we stopped for a considerable time. It was kept by a Beni-Mozabite firm, the principal partner in which was extremely courteous, and treated us with coffee. He had a great admiration for the English, as the English cotton manufactures, which are sometimes obtained through Morocco, are much more highly valued than the corresponding French ones. His appreciation of the national character rose to a yet greater height when I showed him a knife of several blades, or rather containing several instruments, such as a cork-screw, a file, and the like. In his country, he said, such an article would sell for fifty francs, and he was astounded when informed that it had cost me in England little more than the tithe of that sum. Had I been returning home, I would certainly have made

him a present of the knife; but I was going into uncivilised regions, where I expected to need it, and therefore resisted the temptation to establish the fame of Britain throughout the oases of the northern Sahara at the small cost of five shillings.

These Beni-Mozabites are a most singular tribe. They belong to the aboriginal race, and their chief town is Gardaia, situate in about the thirty-sixth parallel of latitude, and directly south of Algiers; but they constitute a sort of confederation of small republics in the oases of the neighbouring region. Ever since the invasion of Charles V. they have enjoyed great privileges at Algiers, having been incorporated there with an *amin* (or mayor) of their own, and enjoying the monopoly of the baths, as a reward for their services on that occasion. There are said to be no less than 1,500 incorporated members at this time among the stationary population of the town. But commerce is their most important pursuit, and they trade direct with Timbuctoo, Soudan, Morocco, and Tunis, as well as with Algeria. M. Cherbonneau described them as "Mahometan Protestants;" and there is some justice in the illustration, although perhaps they might with even greater propriety be called Mahometan Quakers. They resemble the former, in the circumstance that they derive their religious views exclusively from the Koran, and altogether reject the fabric of traditional law and com-

plicated ritualism which has been superadded in the case of the tribes which came from the Arabian peninsula. But the most salient characteristic is their hatred of all forms. They never go to the mosques, or use any form of prayer. Like the Quakers, too, they have a great talent for money-making, and are scrupulously just. The word of a Beni-Mozabite is a perfect security. They travel about the country not only with wool of their own production, but often as factors for stationary merchants, who entrust them with goods to a large amount, and an instance of fraud is a thing unheard of. Their scrupulous honesty disposes them readily to place confidence in others, unless they have seen any reason against so doing. When the French first occupied Constantine, they wished to pay for the supplies of which they stood in need by bills. The Arabs would have nothing to say to these; but the Beni-Mozabites at once entered into the spirit of the transaction, and took them without the least difficulty. As is often the case with scrupulously honest people, they are rigid economists, and never omit an opportunity of saving a penny. In the course of conversation it came out that I was going to Batna, and the chief Beni-Mozabite, who had just requested M. Cherbonneau to add an address in French to one in Arabic on a letter he had written to a correspondent in that place, immediately asked whether

I would take the letter, and save him the expense of postage,—a matter of twenty centimes. Of course I consented, and on arriving at Batna I sought out the other Beni-Mozabite merchant, and put the packet into his hands; but it struck me that the confidence of my Constantine friend in the carefulness, not to say the integrity, of a stranger, was, in a mercantile man, at least as remarkable as his parsimony. However, I suppose he argued from the sterling qualities of English merchandise to those of Englishmen, and I hope subsequent experience may never lead him to change his opinion on either subject. The second partner was a man inferior in intelligence to the principal, but equally disposed to be civil. "He knew all about England," he said; "it was close to Morocco." I explained that Gibraltar, to which he referred, was only a distant settlement. "Of course," interposed the chief; "that man is as ignorant as a camel. But what language are you speaking now?" "French." "Don't the English speak Spanish?" "Very few, except the merchants that live in Spain." His idea was not, I fancy, that we had no language of our own, but were a bilingual people, as the Beni-Mozabites themselves are, using Arabic for commercial purposes, and their own tongue (a variety of Kabyle) for domestic intercourse.

We were lucky enough in our nocturnal ramble to fall in with a wedding procession. The bride is

carried to the house of her husband on a mule, shut up in a box which prevents the smallest particle of her person from being seen. The procession is led by forty or fifty male friends or relatives carrying lighted lanthorns of coloured glass. After these, just in front of the lady, is borne a kind of chandelier of tapers and artificial flowers. A man follows her with a drawn sword to cut down any audacious ruffian whose imagination may be so kindled by the sight of the band-box as to produce an attempt to carry off its contents; and the whole train is closed by the bridesmaids all closely veiled, and from time to time uttering the shrill *ly-ly-ly*, which has been traditional for millenniums.*

One of the most remarkable objects of antiquity which has been brought to light is a tomb of imposing dimensions on the south-west side of the city, on a sort of terrace, under the escarped rock. It was built of brick, on a base of rock; so that the mountain had, in fact, been cut away to allow of its erection. The shape is an oblong of about nineteen feet in length (in the direction of north by west and south by east) and ten in breadth. There were two stories; each was adorned with a mosaic floor and

* The imagery of the marriage procession in Psalm xlv. indicates precisely the same customs. The chief's daughter, "all glorious *within*," *i.e.* decked out in a profuse magnificence beneath the covering which shields her from the eyes of the vulgar, is accompanied to her royal husband's palace by "the virgins that be her fellows," with the "joy and gladness" of the hymeneal cry.

painted walls. The entrance to the upper story was effected by four stairs descending from its long side. No doubt there existed formerly a door at the top of these, but the whole of the wall in which it was cut, as well as the roof of the tomb, is now gone. The stairs descended externally on to a mosaic floor extending the whole length of the façade, to a breadth of seven feet. Another narrow strip of mosaic pavement started from the middle of this, and ran for about twenty feet, when it turned at right-angles, and apparently surrounded another mausoleum. The lower story, which is sunk in the native rock, was entered by a door in its short end. The mosaic floor of the upper tomb is almost entirely destroyed, but it may be made out that its border consisted of Maltese crosses, and at two of the corners are traces of a human figure, and an ornament composed of two fish. On each of two sides of the lower tomb are two semicircular niches, and on the third one, of about seven or eight feet in diameter. On the fourth side three sarcophagi are still lying. A fourth was taken from one of the niches, and on it is an extremely curious inscription, remarkable both for its portentous latinity, and the blunders of the stonecutter in executing it.* It is

* I give the inscription exactly as it appears on the stone, without any division of the words. There are eight unequal lines, and two or three gaps :—

the epitaph of a Cirta banker, who lived to the age of more than a hundred years in the enjoyment of all the good things of this world, and without any drawback except the misfortune of having become a widower, how long before his decease we are not informed. It seems, however, that the veteran money-changer resolved to undertake the task of recording his own good fortune, when he found that at last he was summoned to quit it, with an entire indifference to the fact that his school experiences had been more adapted for initiating him in the mysteries of his

HICEGOQVITACEOVERSIBVSMEA··TADEMONSTROLVCEMCLARAFRVI
TVSETTEMPORASVMMAPRAECILIVSCIRTENSILAREARGENTARI
AMLXIBVIARTEMTYDESINMEMIRAFVILSEMPERETVERITASOMNISOM
NISBVSCOMMVNISEGOCVINONMISERTVSVBIQVERISVSIVXVRIASEMPERFRVITVSCVN
CARISAXICISTALEMPOSTOBITVMDOMINAEVALERIAENONINVENIPVDICAEVITAMCVMPOTVI
GRATAMHABVICVNCONIVGESANCTAMNATALESHONESTEMEOSCENTVMCELEBRAVIFELICES
ATVENITPOSTREMADIESVTSPIRITVSINANIAMEMPRARELIQVATTITTVLOSQVOSLEGISVIVVSMEE
MORTIPARAVIVTVO·V·EQREVNAMNO·AMEDESERVITIPSASEQVIMINITALESEIICVOSEXORECTOVENITAE

The old gentleman probably intended to write: Hic ego qui taceo versibus mea fata demonstro, lucem claram fruitus et tempora summa. Præcilius, Cirtensi Lare, argentariam exhibui artem. Fides in me mira fuit semper et veritas omnis omnibus communis. Ego cui non misertus ubique? Risus, luxuriam semper fruitus cum caris amicis, talem post obitum Dominæ Valeriæ non inveni. Pudice vitam cum potui gratam habui cum conjuge sanctâ. Natales honeste meos centum celebravi felices. At venit postrema dies ut spiritus inania membra relinquat. Titulos quos legis, vivus meæ morti paravi ut voluit Fortuna. Nunquam me deseruit ipsa. Sequimini tales: hinc vos exspecto. Venite.—There is certainly not much to be said for his style; but much of the grammatical regimen and of the inappropriate selection of words which will shock classical scholars was probably usual in the provinces. It is plain that at the time of Præcilius the final *m* of words was so little pronounced that an uneducated man would constantly put it where it did not exist, or leave it out where it did. After all, Marshal Saxe's French appears quite as strange to the eye as Præcilius's Latin.

craft, than in those arts which find favour at Eton and Harrow. Horace might have well had some such personage in his eye when he penned his well-known lines in censure of the education of the youth of his day.* In the remaining long side of the upper tomb is but one semicircular niche. It is near the southern end of the wall. At the northern end a corresponding one is replaced by a niche of a different kind, as if for a statue, and the space left vacant is painted.

A little below the tomb of Pfæcilius is an esplanade upon which the Kabyle market is held.† It is partly surrounded by the huts of these people, to some of which there is attached a small plot of garden, scarcely so big as a moderate sized table-cloth, in which, by the help of plentifully watering it, they contrive to grow a few pot-herbs. In front of others lie little heaps of the wood which is used for dyeing the hands and feet of the women

* Romani pueri longis rationibus assem
Discunt in partes centum diducere. Dicat
Filius Albini, si de quincunce remota est
Uncia, quid superest? Poteras dixisse Triens; Eu!
Rem poteris servare tuam. Redit uncia, quid fit?
Semis. An hæc animos ærugo et cura peculî
Cum semel imbuerit, speramus carmina fingi
Posse linenda cedro, et duro servanda expresso?

Ep. ad Pison. 325.

† There is also a Kabyle market for oil within the walls of the town. It is brought in goat-skins, and the natives may be seen drinking it as an Englishman in the apple counties does cider. It is produced from the wild olive.

a red colour, or lumps of red salt. This production is brought from Milah, a day's journey from Constantine, but the rock which furnishes it is at Radgusie, about three leagues to the south-west of that place, Milah being merely the entrepôt from whence it is dispersed over the neighbourhood, just as Stilton is of the cheeses which go by its name. It appeared to me to differ in nothing except its colour from the salt which is sold in England as Malden salt. The Kabyles here were true to the character for industry which distinguishes them from the Arabs. Not a man was to be seen idle. Some were hammering bits for mules and asses, having husbanded for this purpose every particle of old iron they could find, so that their booths looked like so many fractions of a marine-store shop. Others were making bricks out of earth collected by the hand, moistened with water from a goat's skin. Of course, the results were very scanty, and it is almost inconceivable how such labour could support the artificer, even on the wretched fare which alone he requires, to which the diet of an English workhouse would be princely luxury. The Arab market is held higher up on the level of the gates of Constantine. There the aspect of the people is altogether different. Tall impassive-looking figures stand about, wrapt in their long bournouses, or sit in a line on the edge of the hill, perfectly motionless, and

presenting from below the appearance of a string of great white crows. As the thoroughfare into the town passes across the space of which this market occupies a part, the scene is diversified by military costumes, both European and native, among the latter the blue Zouave uniform of the *tirailleurs indigènes* predominating. If anywhere a close knot of people appears, they are probably listening to some blind singers, who, sitting on the ground, chant in a plaintive tone verses from the Koran, inculcating the practice of works of mercy. They are exactly the same people met with in Egypt, accompanying their ditty with a few notes on the flute; and, if I may judge of their general success from what I saw in a few minutes, must, like all professional beggars, make a very handsome thing of their trade. One of the number who had the use of his eyes, continually went round among the crowd to collect, and likewise offered for sale flutes such as those which were used by his companions. The leathern water-bottle of the Bedouin, which I never saw in the central province, here made its appearance very frequently, indicating the greater proximity of the waterless desert.

Descending the hill below the esplanade on which the Kabyle market is held, the traveller finds a path which will conduct him to the bed of the Oued Rummel, just below the falls. In going thither, I

had an opportunity of observing the dip of the limestone strata, in a quarry on the western side of the rock supporting the city. It is from north by west to south by east, at an angle of about 10°. The colour of the stone where freshly broken is blue, but the effect of weathering is to give it a reddish-brown tinge. The last part of the descent is a scramble down the sides of a ravine full of fig-trees, almond-trees, olives, vines, and pomegranates, wherever the sides are not too steep to permit cultivation. Nothing could give a more forcible idea of the extreme fertility of the soil. Small streams, either bursting out of the earth, or the waste water of some of the channels into which the stream of the Rummel is diverted, ran rustling among the herbage; lizards of a bright green ever and anon darted across the path; the song of birds, chiefly the nightingale, filled the air, while the constant dash of the waterfalls made up a running bass. Where the ground was too steep for cultivation, there were myrtles and the flowering broom, with a hundred other shrubs and flowers; and the ledges left in the midst of the craggy rocks of the ravine were covered with the prickly pear. Everything seemed instinct with life and full of the enjoyment appropriate to its nature. On arriving at the bed of the river below the falls, we saw a number of tortoises, which were basking upon a rock, plunge at once into a pool below them. The whole scene

was such as might have inspired Lucretius for his description of the golden age.

The Falls themselves were at the time I saw them but scanty, the bed of the river between the walls of the ravine above them being for the greater part of its breadth dry; but the enormous blocks of blue limestone, and of a conglomerate in which large pieces of the same limestone appear, which lay in the channel below, proved how different they must be, when the Oued-el-Rummel is swollen by rain. As a matter of beauty, however, the condition in which they appeared was by far the best. A boiling cataract would have altogether marred the surrounding scene. The water takes two slight leaps, and then one of forty or fifty feet. The cliff of the rocky peninsula on which the city stands, comes sheer down to these, from a height of five or six hundred. It was formerly the practice to throw criminals down the precipice at this point. Such a mode of execution is altogether foreign to Arabian habits, and was probably derived traditionally from the aboriginal inhabitants of the country. It may have been in some way connected with another strange superstition, that the tortoises which abound in the pool below the Falls were evil spirits who inflicted fevers and other diseases upon the population, and required propitiation by human sacrifices.

Above the Falls, a narrow path is cut along the

rocky side of the peninsula, for the purpose of giving access to an aqueduct which has been excavated within the side of the mountain, and conveys a part of the water of the Oued-el-Rummel to turn a mill. The aqueduct is probably of the Arabian times. After performing its office, the stream, or at least such part of it as is not diverted for the purpose of irrigation, forms another waterfall flanking those of the Rummel. From this path we descended into the bed of the river, and walked up the slope as far as the point where a dam is made for intercepting the mill-stream. Above us rose the towering cliffs of the peninsula and the main land, and we walked over a smooth floor of limestone with pools in it here and there, the Rummel having dwindled down to a mere brook rushing through the mid channel, shallow enough to be forded, but still so rapid that not a single pebble great or small was to be seen. We passed under two of the natural bridges which have been spoken of above. Under them, in holes of the rock altogether inaccessible by any means, numbers of jackdaws have built their nests, and probably other birds also; for we saw throughout our walk, ravens, falcons, and white vultures, soaring above us. The last-mentioned bird is quite a distinctive feature at Constantine, and probably is necessary as a scavenger, for the Arabs always slaughter their cattle in the open air. The second of the natural bridges of rock is

immediately over the head of the mill-stream. It would have been possible to proceed farther, but here the bed of the river is turned into a gigantic cesspool, the sewers of the town forming so many waterfalls of filth. All this is swept clear away as soon as a heavy shower of rain falls, so that the arrangement, however unwelcome to the tourist, is not altogether a bad one for the inhabitants. The third natural arch is of much greater extent than the other two, but Shaw's description of its dimensions is much exaggerated.* It is in fact the top of a tunnel of the length (as I should guess) of something less than a hundred yards, with gaps here and there from the effects of weather. Over it, at the southern extremity, was carried the bridge which was standing when the French took the town. It had been built in the latter part of last century by an Italian architect, and consisted of two stages of arches, one above the other, the lower one resting on a third substruction of the Roman times. The height of the whole was nearly 220 feet above the soil upon which it rested, that being itself nearly as many more above the bed of the river. The bridge, being found unsafe, was battered down by the French a year or two ago. This operation furnished a grand

* "The river runs for near a quarter of a mile in a northward direction, through a rocky subterraneous passage, designedly laid open in several places, for the greater conveniency of drawing up the water or cleansing the channel."—P. 127.

spectacle, and crowds were assembled to see it. Forty rounds of heavy cannon sufficed for the purpose. The substructions have been made use of as a base for the siphon of an aqueduct which brings water into Constantine. Standing on this, one sees the Rummel in the abyss below on one side; but on the other one only hears it, as it is concealed from view by the roof of earth which covers the natural tunnel above mentioned. It is, indeed, a wonderful spectacle, with vultures wheeling over your head between the steep cliffs, and the Numidian stork standing fishing in the river below.

The French, with a strange blindness to the peculiar character of this locality, after destroying the old structure did not replace it by a suspension bridge, which one would have thought must have at once suggested itself, but actually formed a causeway across the roof of the tunnel, and cut a series of inclines,—so steep that it is necessary to form steps in them, as in the streets of Algiers,—to enable baggage animals to descend to it. It is amusing to sit at the top of either side, and watch the crowds of mules, horses, and asses, and even herds of cows, passing up and down. The traffic is very great, for it is the direct route from the east to the west side of the valley of the Rummel, and to go any other way involves a circuit of two or three miles. Above the site of the bridge the ravine grows narrower, and at the point

where the crack begins I should doubt if the rocks were fifteen feet apart from one another.

M. Cherbonneau has collected in a small garden near the Jews' quarter, all the ancient remains which are brought to him, there being no building appropriated to their reception. After spending some time there one morning, I walked through this part of the town. It happened to be a Saturday, and the greater part of the population were sitting, dressed out in their best, at the doors of their houses. Several of the women were, for Jewesses, handsome; at least they appeared so in comparison with those I had seen in Algiers and the western province, and a few were very beautiful. These last had fair complexions and auburn hair—a type which at the time altogether puzzled me*—but the majority were dark. The Moorish and Jewish populations live on very good terms with one another in Constantine. They neither of them eat pork, and both are much engaged in commerce; and under the strong but impartial rule of the French neither can be jealous of the other. The old traditional habits of separation of course continue, but without implying any animosity. A Jew does not go to a Moorish café, nor an Arab to an ordinary one, simply because the customs of the two places are different, and productive of discomfort to those who have not been brought up in them. In

* See above, page 53.

Algiers the Jews were treated with great cruelty by the Moorish population before the French conquest; but in Constantine, from some cause or other, the beys appear to have pursued a more enlightened policy, and there are no old grudges to revenge. In the latter place, too, the principal Mahometan muftis are men of learning; and religious fanaticism is rarely engendered except in empty heads. To the mosque of Salah-Bey there is attached a kind of theological college, of such repute that students come to it not only from all parts of Northern Africa, but from every part of the Mahometan world. The professor, a fine venerable-looking old man, whom I saw delivering a lecture, is on the best of terms with M. Cherbonneau, simply through the community of ideas produced by sympathy with one another's studies.

A more unsatisfactory feature in the social condition of Constantine is the barrier which exists, and seems to be continually growing more marked, between the civil and the military population. The latter are collected in the barracks of the Kasbah, the dominant position in the town, and no civilian of whatever social rank is allowed to enter these without an order, unless on business to some of the official people. Some regulation of this kind may possibly be necessary, as a considerable portion of the troops are African; and the unrestrained intercourse of the native population with these would obviously be

undesirable. But that an European of respectability, and even a Frenchman domiciled in Constantine and well known, should be challenged by the sentry at the gates, bespeaks a necessity for constant vigilance which one regrets to find still existing. Colonisation can hardly go on with any activity when the new settler finds himself as a matter of course massed together with the subject population in his relations to the governing powers; and, unless a very different spirit can be infused into the latter, there will at no long distance of time cease to be any French population at Constantine except such as live by ministering to the necessities or the pleasures of the military and the officials.

Military government is undoubtedly a necessity in Algeria, but it is so simply in order that civilisation may grow up under its shelter; and those who are in high office are fully sensible of the part which it has to play. But there can hardly be a greater difference than exists between the French military chiefs holding those positions which involve administrative talents, and the ordinary run of officers in what answers to our marching regiments. The drill and the military promenade are, in the latter case, varied only by the billiard-table and the dreary café. Night after night do well-educated young men meet in the same room of the same miserable hotel, and endeavour to kill time by the help of cards and dominoes, cigars and

eau sucrée. There seems to be none of that overflowing energy which sends our idle officers to break their necks in steeplechases, and makes the vicinity of a pack of hounds an essential element in the estimation of country quarters. Almost everywhere in North Africa there is fair shooting. A man told me, that in the vicinity of the lake Aloula, near the tomb of the Christian Queen, he had himself killed 1,700 woodcocks in three weeks. At Guelma, my landlord came in one day, after about three hours' walk in the immediate neighbourhood, and his bag consisted of a woodcock, two *poules de Carthage*, a bird about as big as a pheasant,* and nine quails. But when you see a sportsman, he is sure to be a civilian,—perhaps a colonist, who had better be doing something else,—never a subaltern officer. For him, when not on duty, you must look in the Café des Officiers or the Cercle, and you will find him, with a cigar in his mouth and a glass of beer by his side, playing écarté with a dirty pack of cards, or looking on at a couple of brother-officers so employed. How many English ensigns would willingly give two-thirds of their pay to be stationed in a country where they might be sure of wild-boar and jackals whenever they wished for a few hours' exercise, with every now and then the chance of a lion or panther.

* This bird is probably the "Afra avis," which Horace couples with the "attagen" of Ionia, as a dish for the tables of the wealthy.

Such excitement, however, has no charms for men who as boys have never caught a cricket-ball or pulled an oar. The child is father of the man; and the boyhood which is passed in a French school is cramped and confined in all its movements. I visited the Lycée of Algiers, which is the highest school in Algeria, and one where the standard of education is nearly equal to that of our great public schools, except that the sciences occupy the same relative rank that classical studies do with us. The quality of the instruction was to all appearance excellent. I attended one lesson in French history and another on elementary hydrostatics, and in the latter was extremely pleased with the manner in which one or two of the elder youths explained the methods of ascertaining the specific gravities of solid bodies. But when I came to inquire what the boys did out of school, the defects of the system showed themselves. There is a minute subdivision with reference to age, and each of the classes "amuses itself" separately, under the surveillance of a master. There is no pretence whatever that I could see at any known game. The chief sport seemed to consist in two or three boys suddenly falling upon another from behind, and weighing him down by hanging upon his neck. The numbers of the school are as great as those of Harrow, and the harbour of Algiers (independently of the bay) would be an excellent place for eight-oared gigs;

but such a thing as boating for amusement is never dreamt of. The nearest ground on which cricket or football could be played is indeed more than a mile off, but still the Government might provide courts for hand-fives on the spot. On the heights over St. Eugène, I once found some of the boys of another school, which is under the superintendence of the clergy, feebly attempting a game of ball, as girls will do in England; but this was the only specimen of combined amusement which I witnessed during my sojourn in Algeria; and any satisfaction which I derived from the spectacle was much abated by meeting the same school on another day, when the boys were walking two and two, and almost every one, even to the ages of seventeen and eighteen, carrying a huge wooden cup and ball in his hand, with the practice of which he relieved the monotony of the promenade.

CHAPTER XI.

The road from Constantine to Batna regains the bare limestone plateau soon after leaving the former place, and continues with a gradual ascent throughout. The country passed over becomes monotonous after a time, but its first aspect is extremely curious. It consists of an undulating steppe, altogether bare of trees, but at this season of the year (the second week of April) covered with herbage. Where the surface is limestone, the predominating plant is the wild artichoke; but where this is replaced by sand (generally impregnated with salt), the wild artichoke disappears, and wormwood is seen in its place. In many parts the colours of the wild flowers in the midst of the herbage are very gay. The different sorts grow in large separate masses, so that from a distance a hill will look something like an English flower-garden, with patches of yellow, blue, and red. There can be no greater contrast than exists between the vegetation of the plateaux of the Tel and that of these steppes. The dwarf pine and the lentisque

have entirely vanished, as have all the liliaceous plants, and in their place are seen various grasses, overtopped either by the wild artichoke, or by a kind of thyme of a grey colour, which the camels and goats eat with avidity.

The first post-station is Ouled-Eamoum, about eighteen miles from Constantine. As far as this point the road runs along the eastern side of the valley of the Bou-Merzoug, a little river, which, flowing from the south-south-west, falls into the Rummel just before the arrival of the latter at Constantine. The village, if it may be so called, for it contains scarcely a house, except two inns and a gendarmerie station, occupies the site of a fortified post, but it only fills a very small part of the loop-holed wall which still stands. The appearance is melancholy in the extreme. One of the piers of the southern gate has been half knocked down by a wagon running against it; and so will remain till it falls down altogether. Three or four miles farther is the point where the aqueduct which supplies Constantine with water takes its origin; and soon after this the traveller reaches the region of the lakes which characterise the middle portion of the plateau of the Atlas. The first of these is nothing more than a large marsh, only very slightly saline, standing in the midst of a plain as flat as a cricket-ground, and covered with fine grass, like that to be seen on the South downs, where

the chalk does not come up to the surface. I estimated the height above the level of the sea to be 2,455 feet, being 1,317 above the Pont d'Aumale, which crosses the Oued-el-Rummel just below Constantine. The route still continues, with slight rise and fall but on the whole ascending, till about forty-six miles from Constantine, when we stopped for our midday meal at a little inn, called from its situation the "Hotel des deux lacs." These are two lakes strongly impregnated with salt, and divided from one another by a bank of sand too loose for anything to grow upon it. The road passes along the side of the westernmost one, and I estimated its surface at 2,538 feet above the sea level, and about thirty-six below the "Hotel," which is placed, as it were, on the rim of the cavity that contains it. The salt is obtained without any trouble, being left on the bank as the water evaporates under the rays of the summer sun. Except for the waterfowl on the lake, the view is rather a gloomy one. There is a dreary monotony in the colour of the vegetation which covers the surrounding mountains, the soil of which is probably highly saline. A few Europeans are living in the neighbourhood, employed by the contractors for the salt, but their huts are not in sight from the road; and except the posts of the electric telegraph which are continued along here, the little inn is all that exists within many miles to remind the traveller of Europe. But the neighbouring steppe

is no desert at this time of the year. Except just where the sand is loose and driving, it is thickly covered with herbage, and populous with the camps of nomad Arabs who come with their flocks and herds to eat this off. There are no longer any admixture of *gourbis* to be seen. The tent is the only form of dwelling. Neither are there any asses or mules,—the animals best adapted for the Tel,—nor many horses, but enormous flocks of sheep and goats, and herds of camels. Of the last we saw some not containing less, I should think, than 300 head. The young camels run by the side of their dams, and are extremely pretty little creatures, not being the gawky objects that the foal of the mare is, but the exact image in miniature of the full-grown animal, with all the sportiveness and disposition to gambol which belongs to their age. The sheep and goats are not allowed to scatter themselves about among the herbage. Profuse as it is, the Arab knows he must economise it, and the flock drawn up in line like a regiment of soldiers, goes slowly on, eating all as it comes. Each tribe, and subdivision of a tribe, has its own separate area for pasturing, and the object is to make this carry as much stock as possible, the wealth of a pastoral Arab being derived from his wool. The number of *douars*, or nomad camps, in this region, is at this season very great. From the time of first entering upon the lake country to the reappearance of trees, a few miles before

reaching Batna, we never lost sight of them; and on one occasion I remarked three in view at once. Here and there, generally in the immediate vicinity of a mountain, a little cultivation of cereals goes on. The crop will be ripe by the time the herbage of the plain is consumed, and then the owner will reap it, and move off to the swamps formed in the bottoms of the larger lakes, which he will find covered with a coarse rank vegetation, and on this he will support his stock until the rains return in October.

The journey to Batna lasted fourteen hours, and we did not arrive till past nine o'clock, although the weather was the most favourable possible. In the winter it commonly requires two or three days, and, after the fall of heavy rain, can be scarcely feasible at all for a wheeled carriage. This arises altogether from the difficulty of obtaining stone for metalling; and it is an evil to which it seems scarcely possible to apply a remedy. At Batna there is only one inn (the Hotel de France) of the least pretension to comfort; and it was quite full. The landlord wished to give my companion and me beds in the saloon, together with three or four other travellers; and as in the conversation which ensued he displayed a good deal of insolence, I determined to try if I could not get quarters elsewhere. Most fortunately I saw a decent-looking woman standing at a door, who turned out to be a German, and in Africa I invariably found that

to speak to any person of that nation in their own language, gave me the command of their services. The good woman immediately made her husband come out and accompany me; and under his guidance I succeeded, after some trouble, in getting a clean room in a little inn about the size of an English beer-shop. I was better off than my companion, who, after much suspense, was put into a back kitchen from which a servant-maid had been previously expelled, and perfectly eaten alive. Great was my triumph the next day, not only on account of my better luck in this respect, but because I had obtained butter to my bread and milk to my coffee for breakfast, with both of which my friend had been obliged to dispense. In fact, although my landlord looked unpleasantly like a ticket-of-leave man from Lambessa, and the Hôtel de l'Europe—the name by which he dignified his tenement—would hardly have procured him the elective franchise in an English borough, I was not at all uncomfortable during the three days I was his guest, although I took the precaution of barricading the doors—three in number—of my room, and sleeping with a night-light burning, and a loaded pistol by my side.

Batna is the military position which secures the communication between Constantine and Biskra, the most southern position occupied by the French on this line. It is on the highest part of the plateau of

the Atlas, at an elevation (according to my estimate) of 3,175 feet above the Mediterranean. From here the route southward gradually descends, being a repetition in an inverse order of that from El Arouch, reaching the break in the southern rim of the Atlas in about fifty-three miles, and from thence proceeding to Biskra, an oasis in the edge of the Sahara, which is ten metres (or nearly thirty-three feet) below the level of the sea, and distant from Batna about eighty-seven miles.* Beyond this extends the sandy desert as far as the eye can reach, interrupted only by the oases of palm-groves of which Biskra is the chief.

About seven miles to the south-east of Batna, is the village and Penitentiary of Lambessa. It is situated on the northern flank of the Aurès, probably 300 or 400 feet higher above the sea-level than Batna, as, for the greater part of the way, the road regularly ascends. The Penitentiary is a large ugly-looking stone building three stories high; each, as well as the ground floor, being fitted up with solitary cells. During the day the prisoners work

* A French gentleman, whose acquaintance I made at Bona, gave me the elevation of Al Kantara, the southern gap of the plateau, as 406 metres, and that of Biskra as I have stated it. He had obtained them from an engineer with whom he had been travelling; but he did not know when or by what means his informant had ascertained them, and of course there was no opportunity of comparing his instrument with my own. Nevertheless, after making all allowance for these drawbacks to exactness, sufficient *data* seemed to me to exist for giving an approximate section of the Atlas in this direction. Batna is about 138 miles from Philippeville.

together, without any particular check upon them, and in their leisure hours they amuse themselves with draughts or cards. They seemed cheerful and healthy; and in no one instance did I observe any trace of former fever, such as is common among the colonists of the Metidja. This is no doubt partly owing to the high elevation of the Penitentiary, and the ample water-supply; but in no small degree perhaps to the sober and regular habits to which the prisoners are compelled. They have two meals a-day. The *repas du matin* consists of 250 grammes of meat and a pint of soup, and the *repas du soir* of 50 grammes of bacon and 150 of rice, together with onions and other vegetables. Besides this, the daily allowance of bread is 750 grammes (1$\frac{2}{5}$ lbs.). They are allowed no beer, wine, or spirits. I had the curiosity to enter one or two of the cells, of which there are 430. They are clean and neat, and one of them was fitted up with a degree of taste which would have done honour to a lady's drawing-room. It belonged to a man named David, a native of Marseilles, described as an *écrivain*. He had been originally condemned to twelve years' imprisonment in France for theft; and on being allowed a certain modified liberty, had broken the rules and been sentenced to ten years' more detention in the Lambessa Penitentiary, where he had been nearly four. The prisoners are employed in carpentry, smiths' work, and various other trades,

and are allowed something in the shape of wages for what they do, when the work exceeds a certain amount. It was with his earnings that David had contrived to ornament his cell in the manner which had struck us, and although it was the most remarkable, it was by no means the only instance of the same kind. Besides the inmates of the Penitentiary, there are seventy-five political prisoners. They are divided into three classes: the first, political offenders of the year 1848; the second, those of the year 1852; and the third, those who have been deported in consequence of being affiliated to secret societies. Of this last class there were twenty-one in number. Their treatment is not harsh in itself. They are allowed to buy beer, wine, or any other luxuries; and, if they will submit themselves to the authorities, they are allowed to walk within a radius of two leagues at their pleasure. One of them, a man named Rabel, had his wife in the village, and the authorities allowed her the same rations as her husband. These are 350 grammes of meat, 300 of fine white bread, and 750 of the ordinary quality, daily. I tasted both the bread and the soup, and found them as good as could be desired, and the same may be said of the other articles of consumption.

If the political prisoners decline to make their submission, they are not allowed to quit the precincts of the prison, which however include a tolerable space

of ground. I saw two men who were stubborn on this point. They had the wild eye, unkempt locks, and enormous beards which are popularly supposed to be the outward and visible signs of red republicanism, and were smoking and playing cards with one another. One of the pair, a native of Rouen named Gauthier, apparently an artisan, had endured his self-imposed restraint for three years. I asked if any either of the convicts or political prisoners ever attempted to escape, and I was told that such was very rarely the case; for that those who attempted it were at once brought in by the Arab tribes, as soon as ever they passed the limit of two leagues from the establishment. This impossibility of getting away may perhaps account for the absence of any stringent surveillance on the part of the authorities, which somewhat surprised me. But there were ninety-five empty cells at the time of my visit, and I heard that some of the prisoners were engaged in forced labour at Batna; and possibly these may have been the worst subjects in the establishment.

Lambessa is the site of an important Roman fortified camp, the head-quarters of the third Augustan Legion. It was formed, in all probability, in the year 169 A.D.* Nothing can be better chosen than its

* This date results from an inscription on a stone found in the wall of the camp, in which the names of the emperors M. Aurelius and L. Aurelius Verus appear united with the title "Sarmatici." The war against the Sarmatæ only broke out in 168, and before the end of 169, Verus had been poisoned.

locality. Its elevation above the sea, and its exposure to the breezes from the north, render it healthy in the midst of summer; and it is sheltered from the scirocco by the mountain masses of the Aurès. Two strong springs, bursting from the flanks of the hill,—the Ain Boubennana on the south, and the Ain Drinn on the south-east,—guarantee an abundance of water at all seasons. The former of them supplies the Penitentiary, and the engineer officer who was entrusted with the duty of making the requisite arrangements found the old Roman conduit in good repair. Similar arrangements had once existed at Ain Drinn, which is now employed to turn a mill; but it would seem that the original water-chamber here had been destroyed by the Vandals, and repaired in a very inferior style by the Byzantine emperors after their re-conquest of the country. The united supply from these two fountains has been estimated as averaging 2,300 litres (or more than eighty cubic feet) of water per minute. It was conveyed by means of pipes to every part both of the camp and of a town of considerable size which existed in the immediate vicinity. Important remains of the latter are still above ground. Two gates, the ruins of a temple dedicated to Æsculapius, those of a theatre, and two family tombs are conspicuous. There would be little difficulty in tracing the whole extent of the walls, the whole area within which is full of *débris*. Outside

of them is an amphitheatre. Its walls are entirely decomposed and covered with vegetation, and it is impossible to determine with any accuracy the dimensions of the arena. But it is obvious that its ellipticity was unusually small,* although the form is not perfectly circular. The greater axis lies between the points north-west by west and south-east by east. The most curious, however, of all that still remains standing is a building, which Shaw took for a kind of triumphal arch, but which is undoubtedly a portion of the residence of the Roman commander of the forces here, and the French have given it the name of the Prætorium. It has no roof, but has been surrounded by a wooden palisade, and converted into a sort of open-air Museum to receive the objects of antiquity which are found from time to time and thought worthy of preservation. On the re-entering face of the capital of an engaged column in this building are portions of an inscription which included the names of the emperor Severus, his son Caracalla (who is therein styled *princeps juventutis*), and the empress Julia.† About 500 yards off, in the east-north-east direction, is a small gate of the town, which

* I am told that in the immediate neighbourhood of Perla, in Sardinia, are the remains of an amphitheatre in which this same peculiarity is remarkable.

† As Caracalla received the *toga virilis* in 201, the "Prætorium" must have been built before that year: and it would certainly not have been erected before the fortification of the camp, which was, as has been seen, in 169. The period therefore to which this

apparently had a double opening; so that troops passing in each direction at the same time might not have their order disturbed,—an arrangement which the French have introduced into all their African fortified posts. To the south-east by half south of the small gate is a triple arch by which the enceinte was entered on another side—a much more pretentious structure, and possessing a good deal of elegance.

The inscriptions discovered seem to indicate that the edifice belongs is determined within very narrow limits. Near the small gate I saw a large tablet lying, on which was the inscription:—

IMP. CAES. M. AVRELIO. COMMOD[O. AVG]
C POMPONIVS MAXIMVS EX C[ONSVLT.]
DECVRIO COL. THAMOGADE[NSIVM].

In the field not far off was another with the following:—

IMP. CAESARI
M. AVRELIO
ANTONINO
AVG. ARMENIACO
MEDICO. PARTHICO
GERMANICO.

The latter is remarkable as containing both the titles *Armeniacus* and *Parthicus*, and also that of *Germanicus;* whereas it has been stated that M. Aurelius laid aside the two former in A.D. 169, on the death of his brother Verus, and did not assume the last till A.D. 172. See Clinton, *Fasti Romani*, on the two years. Thamogadi (or Tamugadi), referred to in the former inscription, has not yet been determined. But as, according to the Itinerary of Antoninus, it was both on the road from Lambesis to Cirta (Constantine) and upon that from Lambesis to Theveste (Tebessa), it must have been to the north-east of Lambesis. The Peutinger Table puts it upon the northern of two alternative roads from Lambesis to Theveste. The distances differ, the Itinerary making it only fourteen Roman miles from Lambesis, the Table as much as twenty four. I have very little doubt that the road to it led by the tombs which have been noticed in the text, and that the distance given by the Table is the true one. The city was destroyed by the mountaineers of the Aurès soon after the Vandal invasion of the country.



Roman Remains at Lambessa.

city Lambesis (the ancient form of the name), if existing antecedently to the military camp being formed, acquired its importance from this. A milestone found between it and Batna reckons the distance not from the town, but from "the camp" (*à castris*). Indeed the soldiers appear to have been actually employed in the construction of at least one of the temples.* In the "Prætorium" there is an extremely curious monument, a hemicycle, or circular bench, such as are found in almost all old Greek or Roman towns, in which old people, the *aprici senes* of Horace, used to sit sheltered from the cold winds, and enjoying the warmth of the winter sun. In this particular instance it seems to have belonged to what may be called "a subalterns' club." Its inner face is covered with an inscription, setting forth a resolution to which the members had come, on the occasion of furnishing their club with the statues of the reigning family and of their tutelary deities; and the purport of it indicates the possession of common funds of considerable magnitude. It was the practice in the Roman army to allow every centurion to select a sort of deputy, or, as we might say, lieutenant, who, in the times of the Empire, was called

* On two broken pieces of a circular frieze, which obviously belong to one another, but do not complete the whole, are the words :—

IOVI VALENTI SILVANO . . . . . .

HAS AEDES PER III LEG. AVG. FECERV . . . .

which may perhaps be supplied:

Jovi valenti, Silvano [et Nymphis]

Has ædes per tertiam legionem Augustam fecerun[t Duumviri]

his "optio." It would appear from the inscription in question, that this appointment conveyed with it some sort of claim to succeed the chief when a vacancy occurred; but that it was necessary for the claimant to procure a confirmation to his appointment from some superior, possibly the legate of the province as the representative of the emperor. Appointments in all ages have involved the payment of bribes, or their successors, fees; and, apparently in reference to this necessity, the resolution in question determines that every member, on setting out for securing the object of his expectations, "ad spem suam confirmandam," shall be paid 8,000 sesterces (about £62 10*s.*). If any one reaches the limit of military service, and is discharged, he is to be paid, every 1st of January, "ring-money," to the amount of 6,000 sesterces (£46 17*s.* 6*d.*). Now this phrase is very remarkable: for Septimius Severus, whose name appears on the engaged column of the "Prætorium," is the very emperor who bestowed upon every Roman soldier the much-coveted right to wear a golden ring,—or, in other words, gave him the social *status* of a gentleman.* The "ring-money," therefore, is in fact the pension enabling the veteran to keep up this position. Its amount is enormous, when compared with the pay

* The subject of the "jus annuli aurei" is very lucidly handled in Smith's "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities," under the word "Ring."

under the Republic; and it is exactly the same as the pension a retired centurion received from the emperor Caligula.* But in this case, it is apparently not the pension paid by the Government which is meant, but merely an allowance from some fund over which the lieutenants had an absolute control; for the language of authority is used in the resolution.† Neither are the discharged veterans of the rank of centurion, but (as it would seem) merely members of the lieutenants' club. Nothing could more strongly mark the immense importance which the profession of arms had acquired,

* SUETONIUS, *Caligula*, § 44. This sum, however, was a reduction from what had been paid before, and caused great discontent.

† This inscription is so curious historically, that it is worth giving at length. It runs as follows :—

Pro salute Augustorum,
Optiones scholam suam cum statuis et imaginibus domus divinæ,
item diis conservatoribus eorum, ex largissimis stipendiis et
liberalitatibus quæ in eos conferunt, fecerunt; curante L. Ægnatio
Myrone quæstore.
Ob quam solemnitatem decreverunt, Uti collega proficiscens ad
spem suam confirman
dam accipiat HS octo milia N veterani quoque missi accipiant
Kal. Jan. anularium singuli HS sex milia N.
quæ anularia sua die quæstor sine dilatione adnumerare curabit.

At each extremity of the hemicycle is a square pilaster, and on it a list of names (51 in all) of the "optiones," and on the returning face of one pilaster 12 more. To only one is the sign indicating the rank of centurion prefixed, and that is cut on the moulding; so it is obvious that the individual in question (one L. Cornelius Cato) was promoted subsequently to the insertion of his name. A similar change seems to have happened in the case of two others. The letters COR (cornicen) and ACT. LEG. (actarius legionis) are cut in the moulding of the pilaster after their names. And the whole name of one individual has been studiously erased with the chisel. Perhaps he committed some disgraceful act, and was "expelled his club" in consequence.

under the despotic government of the Roman emperors.

The extreme solicitude of pagan antiquity to avoid as bad omens all words suggesting evil, and to grasp at the reverse, is well known to the student of the Greek and Latin literature. The same feeling shows itself very strikingly in the "cognomina" of the time of the Empire, which every one chose for himself. Out of the sixty-two subalterns of the 3rd Legion, whose names appear on the hemicycle just described, there are no less than nine Felixes, besides a plentiful sprinkling of other names of good import, such as Honoratus, Speratus, Hilarus (*sic*), Fortunatus, Genialis, Donatus. In fact, a Roman of the third century had the same morbid desire for a lucky name, that an Englishman of the nineteenth exhibits for an aristocratic one, and would have shrunk with no less disgust from an acquaintance of the name of Caducus or Sinister, than Mr. Plantagenet Brown experiences when his letters arrive directed to P. Brown, Esq. But of all omens, a dream is of course the most irresistible. A large block, apparently the base of a statue, lying among the ruins of Lambessa, informs us that whatever had been supported by it was set up "at the suggestion of Apollo" by a commandant *ad interim* of the Augustan Legion. Another individual, an actual præfect of the camp, furnished the genius of his house with a new pedestal, in consequence of a

recommendation to that effect from the god of wine conveyed to him in his sleep; and upon the strength of this piece of obedience solicits his adviser to send him and his family safe back to Rome, and prosper them there.*

The only trade which appears to exist at Batna, except such as is necessary for the supply of the wants of the military, is in the timber which grows in the surrounding forests with which the flanks of the Aurès are covered. The principal trees are holm oak, and cedar. The latter is not the cedar of Lebanon (at least it seemed not to me), but a different variety, with leaves almost as stiff and prickly as gorse in England. Its wood is used for building. The oak is for the most part converted into charcoal, and in that state sent to Constantine for fuel. For some miles before reaching Batna stunted cedars and Aleppo pines began to show themselves, but the forests do

* Alfeno Fortunato
Visus dicere somnio
Leiber pater bimatus
Jovis e fulmine natus,
Basis hanc novationem
Genio domus sacrandam.
Votum deo dicavi
Præfectus ipse castris.
Ades, ergo, cum Panisco,
Memor hoc munere nostro;
Natis, sospite matre,
Facias videre Romam,
Dominis munere honore
Mactum coronatumque.

not commence until the traveller has arrived at the roots of the mountains.

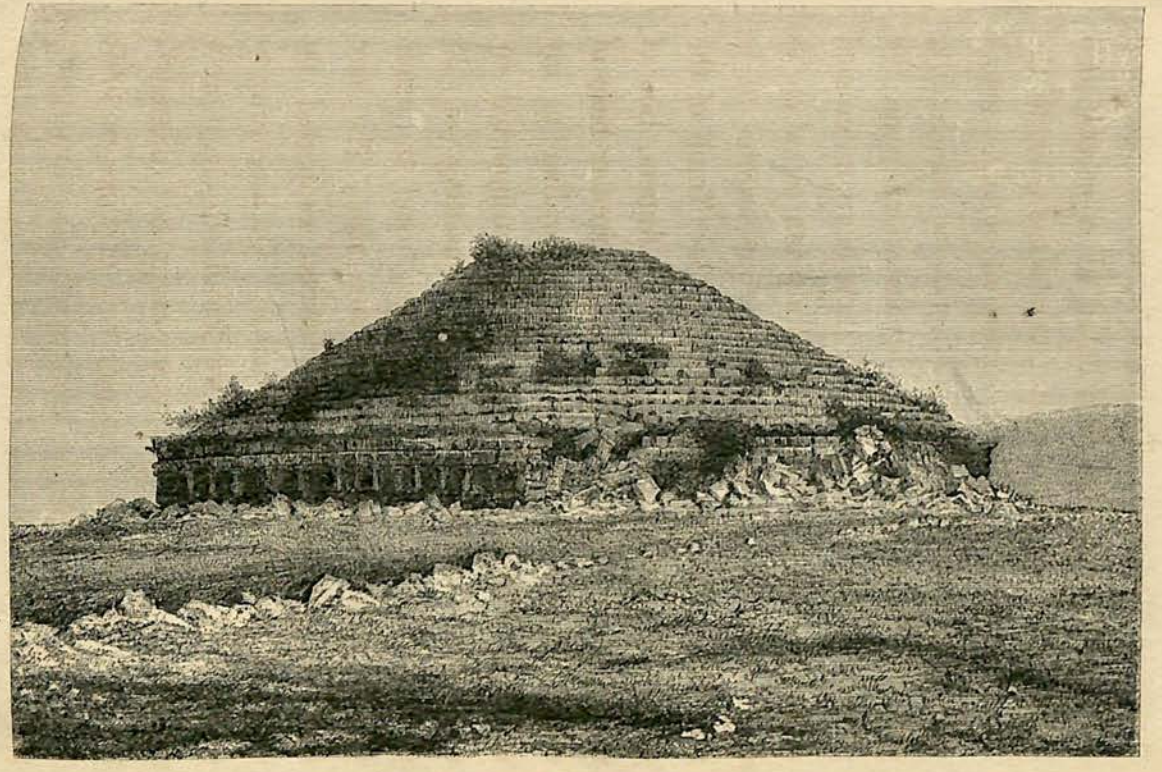
The reasons were probably the same which induced both the Romans and the French to establish a strong military post in this neighbourhood, viz. the necessity of keeping a sufficient force at hand to check the warlike and high-spirited mountaineers of the Aurès. These are, beyond all doubt, of the same race which the earliest Greek settlers found in Northern Africa. They were kept in a certain subjection by the Romans,* as they now are by the French; but when the Romans themselves fell before the arms of the Vandals, the conquerors failed to maintain this supremacy; and during the greater part of the time that elapsed before the re-conquest, were unable to set foot within the Aurès. The Turks only succeeded in raising a tribute from the tribes of the northern side, and from them with great difficulty. So far as one may judge from a distant view, the character of the Aurès must not be unlike that of Great Kabylie,—extremely fertile valleys, embosomed in mountains, and abundantly supplied with water from the springs gushing from their sides; and this is, in fact, the description

* Gibbon, however, falls into a great error in placing Lambessa in the heart of the Aurès (Chapter XLI.). It is on the lowest part of the northern flanks of that remarkable mass, to which it bore the same relation for military purposes as the French camps at Fonduck and Kara Mustapha did to the Great Kabylie before the termination of the war with Abd-el-Kader.

which Procopius gives of the country. But there is as yet no Fort Napoleon in the Aurès, and the exploration of the country could hardly fail to be as perilous as that of Great Kabylie was two years ago. As is generally the case with regions with which there is little or no intercourse, the Aurès has the character of being full of wild beasts. The woodcutters, however, go up into the forest and remain there for several days, without any arms but an axe, and I heard no account of any accident having occurred. In Batna I was shown a tame lion, which had been found when a whelp by the Arabs in the vicinity, and was kept by a tradesman of the town as a pet. He was about three years old, and allowed any person to play with him and scratch his ears; and indeed was extremely fond of human society when his visitors approached him; but he did not like them to look at him from a distance over the palisade which surrounded the shed in which he was chained up. The owner told me that he fed the animal upon meat, but always made a point of first boiling it.

I was extremely anxious to visit an ancient Numidian monument at no great distance from Batna, which some military antiquary, when it was first seen by the French army on an expedition to the south, thought proper to designate by the whimsical name of the Tomb of Syphax. By the kindness of the commandant, I obtained the escort of a spahi, and

some mules, and spent a couple of hours in examining it carefully. The name by which it goes among the Arabs is Madrasen. To reach it, we left the road between Constantine and Batna at a caravanserai called Ain Hedjar, and struck across the plain to the eastward, passing several camps of nomads whose dogs were more than usually ill-tempered, and fording one or two of the marshy brooks which seam the steppe. After a ride of two or three hours we crossed a low ridge of limestone, and on a gentle elevation in front of us beheld the object of our search. It is a monument of the same type as the "Tomb of the Christian Queen" on the Sahel of Algiers, but of altogether different proportions. A circular base of about 16 feet in height, and, according to my estimate, 166 feet in diameter, is surmounted by a circular truncated pyramid, consisting of 23 steps, each two feet high and three broad, the whole formed of hewn stones of immense size. The base itself is surrounded by a cornice, supported on engaged columns, sixty in number. On ascending to the top of the pyramid, we found ourselves on a circular area, of about twenty-eight feet diameter, having in the centre a circular hole of three or four. This last my companion and myself, after examining it with the greatest care, felt satisfied had never been filled up;—although, from the dislocation of the stones immediately around it, its real character might



Ancient Numidian Monument near Batna.

easily have escaped the notice of a hurried observer. It descended, we were convinced, quite into the interior, and before the edifice was injured must have remained open: for if it had been originally closed by a circular mass, like the keystone of a vault, that mass could never have been forced downwards; whereas it is in a downward direction that the neighbouring blocks slope. If, however, the circular hole is a part of the original design, the whole erection is not likely to have been intended as a tomb, which all travellers who have hitherto examined it have tacitly assumed. It is to me more probable, that it was built as a temple for fire-worship, and by Greek workmen. The immense labour required to move the masses of stone of which it is built implies the possession of great resources in the builder, and the grand effect of the bold sweep of the cornice bespeaks an artist of genius.* The building was entered by a

* My own conjecture would be that the "tomb" was built by Micipsa, the eldest son of Massinissa, to whom Scipio the destroyer of Carthage gave Cirta, over and above his share of his father's dominions and accumulated wealth; and that not improbably a large proportion of the captive population of Carthage was used up in its construction. In this case the Mauritanian monument on the Sahel, described above, may very well have been taken as a type by the architect of the Numidian one, as the ancient heads of Minerva were by Phidias. The traditional form would be, perhaps even on religious grounds, preserved; but the alteration of proportions shows, no less certainly than in a comparison between the architecture of Athens and Egypt, that here too the idea of the barbarian had to pass through the mind of a Greek before its capabilities for beauty could be unfolded.

small door on the side facing east by north. This is of an oblong shape, about four feet in height and two in width. Its bottom coincides with the upper surface of that course of stones which forms the cornice of the lower part of the building. It is effectually masked from a spectator below; so that it was obviously made for some necessary purpose, incidental to a public ceremony, but not itself forming a part of the ceremony. Yet there is no attempt to conceal it from an explorer, as in the case of the entrance to the Egyptian pyramids. It leads into a corridor which is now choked up with rubbish, the result of modern attempts to penetrate the monument. The Arabs, of course, believe the Madrasen to contain treasure; and the last Bey of Constantine is reported to have brought some cannon and battered it, in the hope of enriching himself by the operation. One of our muleteers strongly sympathised with the undertaking. He would himself, he said, gladly devote his time to the task of forcing an entrance, if he felt certain he should find two hundred francs there. I told him that he might rest assured he would find no money, whatever else he might light upon; but although he seemed to have a great respect for me from seeing me make use of a compass and an aneroid barometer, I fear avarice was too strongly ingrained in him to allow him to believe me.

Some of the scientific visitors of this singular

monument have believed that there were traces of inscriptions and even of rude figures on its sides. My companion and I were unable to discover anything of the kind; and yet we searched carefully for them, especially in one part to which General Desvaux, the commandant at Batna, had particularly directed my attention. If anything was ever to be seen, it must have been merely scratched on the surface of the stone; and with all its simplicity the execution of the cornice is so admirable, that it is difficult to believe any inscription or device, altogether out of keeping with it, could have been allowed. If therefore these rude figures ever existed, they were probably the work of barbarous times, succeeding the era of greater civilisation in which the edifice was built.

We returned to the main road by a different track, over a low range of hills, from which we descended on another caravanserai, that of Ain Yagout, after a ride of an hour and a half, the mules quickening their pace as they became sensible by the approach of evening that they were coming to the end of their day's journey. It turned out that we were the only arrivals; and we therefore were allowed to appropriate the two rooms devoted to the use of the travelling public. The day had been extremely hot; but after sunset the elevation of the plateau above the sea caused a great change to be felt. I had put on a shepherd's plaid over my great-coat before reaching

Ain Yagout, and on arriving felt extremely delighted with the fire which was at once lit for us.

I was advised, before leaving Constantine finally, to see Milah, a specimen of a purely Arab town population. The French took possession of it in 1838, and it was extremely useful to them as a military position, until the communication between Constantine and the sea was secured by the building of Philippeville. Milah is not only on the site of the Roman Milevium or Mileum, but is the very town itself. The extent is small,* but the foundations of the walls throughout, and their whole height for a great part of the circumference, are of Roman masonry. Mileum was the first stage on the ancient road from Constantine to Setif, and is set down in the Itinerary as twenty-five Roman miles from the former place. By the track which we took, it is a little more than this. The path runs for a considerable distance along the western side of the valley of the Rummel, and crosses one of the affluents of that river by a ford. Its general bearing is to the

* Mileum was however a bishop's see, and one of some note in the ecclesiastical history of Africa. It was filled by Optatus, the historian of the Donatist schism; and was, as well as Carthage, the place of meeting for a council which condemned the tenets of Pelagius in the early part of the fifth century. But a bishopric in Africa was more like the modern incumbency, as regards temporal importance and area of jurisdiction, than anything suggested by the same name at the present day. Hippo, the seat of St. Augustine, could not have been much larger than Hitchin in Hertfordshire; and even St. Cyprian at Carthage had probably not a quarter of the spiritual charge laid upon Dr. Hook at Leeds.

west-north-west. On the right-hand, the horizon is always bounded by the limestone hills which form the edge of the plateau above the Oued-el-Rummel; but in the interval sandstone* and alluvium are often seen, and the road passes over several low hills of this last character, in some parts of which the soil has the same peculiar rotten mudlike texture that has been remarked elsewhere. The country is bare of trees, but extremely well tilled, chiefly by Kabyles; for the Arab population of Milah employ themselves in cultivating orange and lemon groves in its immediate vicinity. Milah itself is most curiously situated in a well-watered and wooded oasis, presenting a striking contrast to the bare region which surrounds it. It was apparently the stationary camp of a Roman cohort, deserted, but entire, at the time of the Arabian invasion. Its very small size is perhaps the reason of its having been taken possession of bodily; as it is one of the very rare instances in which the ancient buildings have not been broken up and huts built of the materials.†

The kaid of Milah is a chief much in the confidence

* This is sometimes red or lake coloured; reminding me of what I have seen in the mountains on the borders of Bohemia, and on the banks of the Moselle.

† The Kabyles round about stand in the same kind of relation to the Arabs of Milah, that the periœcians of Sparta did to the freemen: but the identity of religion in the modern instance of course has a great effect in promoting good feeling between the parties concerned.

of the French. He resides in Constantine; but we were furnished with letters from him to his son, and with the escort of a spahi who was a man of some rank in the tribe. The young kaid, a very sickly-looking youth of about twenty, received us with great politeness. He seated us on his divan, and sent both for coffee and for his interpreter, a singularly intelligent and well-mannered Arab, who spoke French fluently, of which the kaid knew only two or three words. After we had drunk our coffee we were asked whether we would like to dine or to see the curiosities of the place. It was the first day of the Ramadan, or Mahometan Lent, and not only the gates of the town as we entered, but the doors of the several houses in it were thronged with the male population of all ages, watching anxiously for the time when the sun should set, and allow them to break their fast. We told the kaid that we should prefer to postpone dinner till our return, when the day being at an end we hoped we should have the honour of his company. It is an established piece of breeding in primitive Arab society, that the host serves his guest, unless an inferior, without touching a morsel himself if he be not specially invited to do so. Where they have had much to do with Europeans, their behaviour is much the same as that of a courteous English gentleman. We were attended in our walk round the town by the young kaid and three or four of his principal retainers,

the interpreter showing us everything that he thought interesting,—the mosque, the walls, a celebrated orange and lemon grove, and above all, two springs of water, which he obviously considered as the climax. We passed a couple of tumulary stones of the Roman times; and the kaid seemed much astonished when I told him that the one of them had been put up by a widower to his wife, and the other commemorated a man who had died at the age of ninety years. No doubt he thought the two facts equally remarkable. There were no other remains of any kind, except portions of ancient substructions, apparently cellars, which could not be adequately examined without excavation.

Dinner was served for my companion and myself in a room within the one where we had been just received. The young kaid, when the time came, excused himself on the ground that he had himself some of his own people to entertain. I believe the true reason to have been that our sudden arrival had prevented him from making any addition to the dinner which would otherwise have been prepared, and that he did not wish to impose any check upon our appetites. Certain it is, that he took up his position in the chamber of reception, and that no dishes were introduced there until they had been first sent to us, except it might be a bowl of *kouskous*. The interpreter remained with us, but, like his chief, could

not be induced to join our meal. After dinner coffee was brought in, which the kaid flavoured with sugar in our presence, carefully stirring it until the whole lump was perfectly melted before presenting it. This ceremony I had noticed before in the western province, and I am told that a great point is made of it. Possibly the origin of the custom may be, that as, according to Arab notions, the host is responsible for the life and property of his guest, he carefully ascertains that no poison has been introduced into his coffee.

My companion was desirous of sketching the assemblage of retainers around the kaid's divan; and far from offering any objection to it, they displayed great anxiety that the thing should be done, and gave us every facility for effecting it. One old man, who had made the pilgrimage to Mecca, was the vainest of the party; and took extraordinary pains to place himself in what he thought a striking attitude. Some of the faces were very fine ones, our spahi's perhaps the best of all. The young kaid unquestionably looked the worst of the whole company. He was however extremely hospitable, pressed us to drink out of the grace-cup which went round—containing only pure water, and did everything in his power to make us feel at home. When the picture was finished, the names and titles of the company were duly recited to be written under their respective likenesses; and it

was curious to find the machinery of a petty court within a building not equal to the meanest English farm-house. The metal pot out of which we had drunk was brought with great ceremony by the cupbearer, who wore a blue bournous by way of distinction. Besides the interpreter mentioned above, there was also a regular secretary, a grand écuyer and other officials, among whom the most important to a traveller is the coffee-chaouch, whose duties are those of the butler in an English family. This functionary brings you a cup of coffee in the morning before starting, and it is to him you make the present which is intended as an equivalent for the entertainment you have received.

The young kaid provided us for our return with much better mules than those which had brought us from Constantine, and we set off at a quarter before six, to avoid the heat of the day. About half-way is a spring, where we had lunched the day before, and where we did the same thing on our way back with the relics of our repast. The spahi, who, as a conscientious Mahometan, had not broken his fast, was tortured by a splitting headache, and when we reached the fountain, threw himself on the ground, and covering his face with his bournous, tried to get a little sleep. The day before he had apparently suffered but slightly, but to-day he continually laid his head on the pummel of his saddle as he rode, and appeared completely exhausted. It had been, indeed, very

painful, on arriving at Milah, to see the gaunt wolfish faces of hungry growing boys, who had probably been out tending cattle for the whole day, or driving a mule for twenty or thirty miles, without a morsel of food or drop of water having entered their lips. Neither may they smoke, nor—which an Arab values even more—take a single pinch of snuff. The nearest approach to a gratification of sense which I saw, is the sticking of a wild flower in the nostril.* The face and hands may be washed in water, but none must be swallowed before sunset. After the commencement of the Ramadan, I never passed an Arab in the afternoon without his inquiring the hour of the day; which previously had not occurred even once; so painful is this regulation to those who cannot, as is the habit with the rich, pass the day sleeping in their houses. But like the judaical observance of the sabbath with some English sectaries, the rigour of their fast constitutes in the estimation of these poor people the test *stantis aut cadentis disciplinæ*. I have no doubt that

* The owner of the lemon-grove which we visited at Milah had been very desirous to present us each with a lemon. Not having anything at hand which would have been suitable as a return for this compliment, we declined with thanks; but the kaid and the whole party were extremely importunate that we should take the fruit "to carry in our hands," if we did not wish to eat it. I could not understand this suggestion at the time; but afterwards, when I saw the sufferings of the common Arabs during the Ramadan, and the expedient noticed in the text, it occurred to me that the offer had been intended to diminish the presumed inconvenience of the next day's fast to us, and I felt vexed not to have been alive to a piece of delicate politeness.

the murder of a whole family (if not tribesmen) would sit very lightly on the conscience of many an Arab, whose soul would be utterly crushed by the reflection that he had drunk a mouthful of water between sunrise and sunset during the Ramadan, even to save himself from death.

CHAPTER XII.

I took my final leave of Constantine, a locality unparalleled in the objects of interest it presents, with much regret, although I was about to visit a region which I particularly wished to see. My object was to strike the sea-coast again at Bona, the Hippo of St. Augustine, taking on my way the hot-springs of Hammam Meskoutin (the Enchanted Baths) and Guelma, the ancient Calama. I had brought letters to the chief of the Bureau Arabe at Constantine; but unfortunately at my first arrival I found this gentleman on the point of setting off on a *promenade militaire* with the general commanding the Constantine division. I was, however, promised the means of making the expedition; and the day before I finally set out, the officials at the bureau assured me that a spahi and two muleteers should be with me by half-past five in the morning. At a quarter before six, two Arabs of the kaidat of Guelma arrived with a mule and a horse for myself and my baggage, but without any escort. What occurred afterwards induces me to believe that

the spahi who had been ordered to attend me had shrunk from the prospect of two long days' march during the Ramadan, and been wilfully unpunctual; but at the time, being anxious to escape as much of the heat of the day as possible, I assumed that the people at the Bureau had judged a military attendant unnecessary; and after making the Arab *employé*, who brought the muleteers and spoke French, repeat to them in Arabic the route which had been laid down for me, I set off cheerily, although alone, my late companion having returned to Philippeville on his way back to Algiers. The road we took for the first three or four miles coincided with that to Batna. It then turned off to the left, and ascended over hills of alluvium to the limestone plateau, gradually assuming an eastward direction. At first there was a good deal of cultivation by Arabs to be seen, the crops being exclusively cereals; but afterwards, when we were fairly on the limestone, these ceased and were succeeded by a sea of pasturage, covered as usual by the wild artichoke. But the herbage was most luxuriant, and the number of brood mares, which appeared here and there, showed that I had got into the breeding grounds of the tribes. We pushed on briskly, the two men being in good spirits at the thought of returning to their own tribe, and not yet exhausted by fasting and fatigue. They chanted alternately what I suppose were verses from the Koran, in which

one of them was a great adept, but the other, who was the stouter fellow, and had withal the honester face, was frequently at fault, and obliged to stop in the middle of his strain. After about three hours' riding and fording a small stream, we passed two or three European farms, with a few fig and olive trees planted in the immediate neighbourhood of them. The owner of one of these met us, mounted on a fine Arab horse, with a gun on his shoulder, and he proved, contrary to my expectation, to be a Frenchman. Then we plunged into a fresh series of plains, here and there broken up in small plots for cereal cultivation by the Arabs, but for the most part covered with excellent pasture, and full of Arab douairs, with herds of sheep, goats, cattle, and camels. Several small parties of mounted Arabs also appeared from time to time in the distance. My men did not seem at all acquainted with the people in the douairs, in the immediate neighbourhood of several of which our track led us. They were extremely sulky, and rarely replied to my salutation, or made any attempt to restrain the savage onsets of their dogs, which were very troublesome. I had unfortunately no long whip, and to defend myself from the brutes was obliged to make the muleteers give me, from time to time, a few stones to hurl at them when they threatened to leap at my legs, which as they hung down instead of being tucked up after the fashion of the natives,—who sit

on their packsaddles as an English costermonger does, —presented an apparently irresistible temptation to these curs. One incident, which amused me much at the time, was nearly proving serious. A little camel foal, breaking away from a herd nearly a mile off, came bounding after us, with a fixed determination for a game of play. The mule, however, seemed to entertain a singular aversion for this new companion, and on its approach began to kick and plunge violently, and exhibit the greatest alarm. It was as much as ever the two Arabs could do to secure the creature, and prevent her from setting off at full speed with my baggage; while I tried my best by stones and vituperative language to repulse the unwelcome visitor, who obviously enjoyed the joke. Fortunately the mule's halter held, and before the men were quite exhausted, the little camel, with its tail stuck up vertically, and uttering the most unearthly sounds, set off at full speed to rejoin its mother; or my shirts would infallibly have enriched the wardrobe of some members of the douairs we had just seen.

After between five and six hours' riding we reached the caravanserai of Oued-el-Aria, which was half-way from that of Oued Zenati, where my instructions were to pass the night. I found there a few French soldiers in charge of some stallions, which the Government send into the plains at this season for the use of the tribes. There were four of them in the stable,

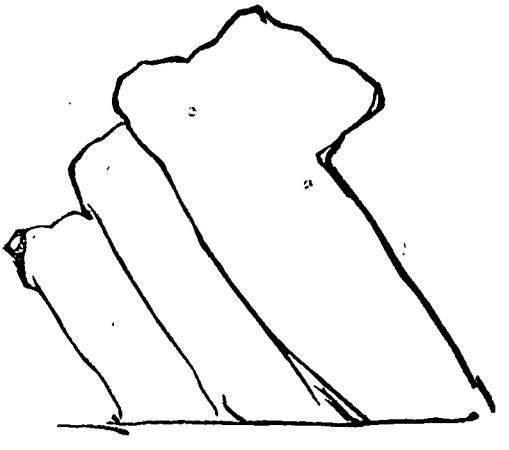
which was large enough to contain twelve or fourteen, all greys. One was a very beautiful animal, but apparently vicious. It was the thickest Arab horse I saw during the whole time I was in Algeria. Another was likewise a fine horse and quite gentle, but the remaining two seemed to me unworthy of the purpose for which they were intended, being altogether commonplace animals.

Close to this caravanserai are the ruins of a marabout's tomb, and also some foundations which are probably those of a mosque. The tenant of the tomb most likely built the water chamber for the fountain from which the caravanserai takes its name. The building, as usual, is loopholed for better defence. In its immediate neighbourhood some most remarkable rocks crop out, at an angle of forty-five degrees. They are obviously the continuation of strata equally striking, which are visible on a hill a little to the north-east of the caravanserai, presenting the curious appearance of two vast leaning walls of limestone rock, running parallel for several hundred yards, with a green walk between them. The dip is from south-east to north-west. I could not help remarking to the *gardien*, as a geological phenomenon, the strange aspect of the masses near the caravanserai. "Ah! yes, Monsieur," he replied; "they completely dominate the whole court. The position is wretchedly chosen." It seemed impossible for any idea to enter

the man's mind unconnected with warfare against the natives.

After breakfasting I resumed my journey, and as it is an article of popular faith in Africa that the pace of a mule is easier than that of a horse, and I had seven leagues more before me, I determined to exchange animals with my portmanteau. But it was not a very easy thing to mount the mule, who obviously disliked a Christian rider no less than a camel. With the help, however, of two of the French soldiers, I at last succeeded in effecting a lodgment on her back, after which she allowed me to make myself as comfortable as circumstances permitted. These were, however, very unpropitious. The Arabs had thrown my poncho and shepherd's plaid over the *barre*, or packsaddle, and, doing to others as they would be done by, had piled them in such a way as to convert the seat into a truncated cone, tapering towards the mule's tail. For the Arab mode of riding, this was all very well; but I found it extremely uncomfortable, and about an hour afterwards got a bad fall by it, while climbing a wall of dipping strata which crossed our track. On our left hand we had, for four or five hours after leaving Oued-el-Aria, cliffs of limestone, apparently the edges of plateaux rising one above another. Our general course was eastward, but I did not take the bearings minutely. At about eight or nine miles from the caravanserai we crossed a second

wall, like that which occasioned my tumble, and descended into an alluvial plain. Over this several masses of tufo were scattered, and in two or three instances there was a large collection of them crowded together, presenting the appearance of a heap of sea-worn rocks honeycombed by marine zoophytes. The limestone cliffs on the left hand (or north) still continued. Occasionally large masses of them appeared standing separate as if detached from the rest. One most remarkable instance of this occurred about ten miles from El Aria. From a mile off on the south-west side, it presented the aspect of the annexed



sketch, being probably not less than fifty feet in height; but afterwards on passing it, I observed that it was connected with the neighbouring cliffs on its north-east side. During the afternoon we passed several douairs, with the tenants of which I was glad

to observe that my Arabs were on better terms, although there was still no display of cordiality. In the doors of some of the tents women appeared sitting; and I remarked that in all these cases there was the distinction of a crimson hanging of some sort. In the entrance of one tent I saw a lady very gaudily dressed, apparently engaged in measuring out white linen or woollen cloth; but the distance at which good breeding requires an Arab gynæceum to be passed prevented me from minutely verifying the description one reads in the words of the prophecy which king Lemuel's mother taught him.*

During the whole of this afternoon's ride we passed no cultivated soil, but the pasture was throughout extremely rich. After however five hours of travelling, when I began every minute to expect the caravanserai of Oued Zenati to appear, four mounted Europeans met us, and from one of them I learnt that the caravanserai was still an hour and a half's ride farther. It was evident that we had since leaving El Aria diverged from the proper route, and probably gone too far to the south; for the limestone cliffs, which we had so long seen on our left hand, for some time past had been no longer visible. Very shortly after this meeting we came upon a river

* Proverbs xxxi. 22—24. "She maketh herself coverings of tapestry; her clothing is silk and purple. She maketh fine linen, and selleth it; and delivereth girdles unto the merchant."

running from west to east, and continued our course along its northern bank over an alluvium which had subsequently to its deposition been thrown into rather steep ascents and descents. From every elevation I hoped to see the caravanserai, being in a good deal of pain from the effects of my fall; and I was very happy when at half-past six o'clock the Arabs pointed out a white building in the distance as it. The poor muleteers had not tasted food during the whole day; and as soon as ever the sun dipped, they produced one or two flat cakes, and ate them with avidity, not however without first offering me a share. I of course declined to diminish their scanty store, and reminded them that I had breakfasted at El Aria. "Toi makasch tiene carême: toujours mangiaria," said one of the poor fellows, in the polyglot dialect which is growing up out of the intercourse between the natives and the illiterate European settlers of the interior.* The taste of food and the prospect of soon

* There are a few Arabic words which the European children habitually make use of at Guelma, even when playing with each other. Makasch, *no*, shuiya, *gently*, I found invariably took the place of the corresponding French terms. On the other hand the Arabs constantly use the words ora, *hour*, and buono or bueno, *good*, to one another. Iauh, *yes*, a Kabyle word, pronounced exactly like the German affirmation, is also very common among the lower orders of Europeans. One day at Algiers I called out in French to a boy who was below, to know whether I could get down from a part of the fortifications by a path of which I could only see the beginning. He saw what I wanted by my sign, and answered "ja." When I got down, I asked for some further piece of information in German, thinking that to be his mother tongue, when he replied in Spanish that he did not speak French.

reaching the quarters for the night restored their spirits, and they re-commenced their song, at the same time urging on the animals at a rate which for the sake of humanity I felt myself bound to check.

After all, we did not arrive till eight o'clock, and then, to my horror, I found that the building which had attracted our attention was shut up. I thought of a former experience in the province of Oran, and concluded that the tenants had been obliged to abandon it from the unhealthiness of the locality, a theory which the croaking of a legion of frogs, that had filled our ears ever since we approached the river, seemed to favour. We knocked and knocked again, but could obtain no answer. Seeing a fire a few hundred yards off, I thought it might be a smithy, which would imply the presence of some European, and walked up towards it, for the purpose of ascertaining the fact. But before I got near I was assaulted by a pack of dogs and obliged to beat a retreat, and make up my mind to what I expected would turn out a bivouack in a feverish locality; for it was plain that the animals, which had been in march for thirteen hours, could go no farther. However, just as I had pitched upon the most sheltered spot to pass the night on, an Arab appeared and unlocked the gate of the building, which turned out to be no caravanserai, but a stable, with an elevated brick platform in the middle. To this he caused my baggage to be transferred, and

lighting a fire of artichoke stalks on the floor, spread a mat by the side, and motioned for me to take my place on it. I was parched with thirst, and made signs that I wanted something to drink, pointing to my mouth, and repeating the word "hamma" (water) several times, besides translating it into every modern language of which I had the least knowledge; but, to my great disgust, my new friend, although obviously desirous to make me comfortable, took no notice of my necessity, and, I fancied, seemed rather to pooh-pooh it. However, in a few minutes he went away, and returned with a large bowl of sheep or goats' milk, which, thirsty as I was, was more than I could drink. I now felt quite independent of any further commissariat, having in my pocket a cake of chocolate, which I had provided myself with against contingencies; and, spreading a poncho on the brick platform, with a carpet-bag for a pillow, I looked forward to a fair night's rest, taking the precaution of lighting a mortar night-light, of which extremely useful articles for a traveller I happened to have one or two remaining. But at this instant another Arab arrived, who spoke French, and informed me that I was not at Oued Zenati, but at another place, Embadis, three leagues off it; that he himself was a *commis* of the *Bureau Arabe*, and that my muleteers had lost their way. He told me that he would have some supper sent to me, and some breakfast the next morning, and

also a spahi to be my guide to Hammam Meskoutin; but that for the last I must wait till seven o'clock. Having said his say, this good genius vanished into the surrounding darkness; but the promised supper soon arrived, in the shape of a bowl of kouskous, and another of milk. These I shared with the muleteers; and, wrapping myself up in my plaid, slept on my hard couch as soundly as I had ever done in bed, and really was quite sorry to rise the next morning, when, at half-past five, the men came to wake me. On turning out I saw at once what the real state of the case was. The fire which had attracted me the night before belonged to a small Arab douair, the inmates of which had the charge of the breeding stable, for such it was in which I had slept, on the platform intended for a similar use by the grooms who brought the stallions for the mares of the tribes in the neighbourhood. My entertainer of the previous night brought me a cup of coffee and another bowl of milk, and was delighted with a two-franc piece with which I presented him. I also gave him the tin-case in which I had carried my stock of night-lights, and readily acceded to his request for the empty paper mortar, which seemed to please him scarcely less. Possibly he took the printed directions for its use for a verse from the Koran, and the whole apparatus for an amulet.

My men were so anxious to be off, and the previous

day had been so hot, that, having got some information from the *commis* as to the route, I determined not to wait indefinitely for the promised spahi, but set out at once. This rashness was very near carrying us again astray. A market was held very near the place where we had passed the night, and this producing a concourse of Arabs from many miles around, the muleteers had several opportunities of getting information. But, unfortunately, as is often the case, they did not like to betray their own ignorance. After riding a couple of hours, therefore, I was extremely delighted to have an opportunity offer of informing myself on the subject. A large party of mounted Arabs met us, three of whom were obviously chiefs, accompanied by a spahi who wore the insignia of the Legion of Honour on his bournous. I concluded at once that this man must speak French, and riding up to him, told him my story, when he informed me that I was at the moment in the right track to Hammam Meskoutin, which was three hours off, but that the muleteers were altogether ignorant of the neighbourhood. I therefore determined to take the command myself; and, steering by the compass, with the additional luck of finding another adviser at a critical point, I succeeded, after four hours more of riding, in reaching the French military hospital which has been established in this singular valley. It appeared in the distance just after we had passed to the northern side of a crest

of rock; but we soon lost sight of it, and were so long a time traversing the wood of wild olives which surrounds it, that I began to fear some fresh blunder had been made. However, at a little after eleven o'clock a turn in the path suddenly showed us a long, ugly-looking building close at hand, on the other side of a brook. Hard by were several tents, some occupied by soldiers, others by Jewish families who had come for the purpose of taking the mineral baths. A lodge at the entrance to the hospital was the habitation of the porter, himself a discharged *sous-officier* of the French army, and now possessing the privilege of keeping a canteen and restaurant for the benefit of the inmates.

I repeatedly had occasion to remark in Algeria how very inaccurate the information often was which related to any moderately distant locality, even when furnished by official people of some station. Here was an example to the purpose. I had been positively assured at Constantine, that whatever discomforts I might suffer on the way, at Hammam Meskoutin I should find a good hotel with every comfort; and I had quite made up my mind to pass the night there and proceed the next day to Guelma. But on arriving I found that there was no hotel at all, and that if I wished to stay the night it could only be as an occupant of a bed in one of the wards of the hospital, and that by the special favour of the

intendant. I naturally preferred going on to Guelma, which I did when the heat of the day began to diminish, after visiting the exceedingly curious springs, which throw Carlsbad completely into the shade.

The water supplying the baths rises in great force from the top of a rock which is formed entirely of deposits from the springs. The temperature at the point of issue was no less than 97° centigrade (more than 206° Fahrenheit), so that, taking into account the elevation above the sea-level, the water may be said literally to issue at boiling heat. Several yards below the orifice it was scarcely possible to stand on the leeward-side of the stream from the heat of the vapour which rose from it. At the time of my visit three holes only were used, but another had been discovered about a fortnight before, and if required will doubtless be made available. But, in fact, almost anywhere in the vicinity, if a hole were bored, there is little doubt mineral water would be found. The whole place is full of cones of carbonate of lime deposited by the water around the lips of the funnel through which it rises, until the elevation becomes such that the force of the spring is no longer sufficient to run over, when the orifice gradually fills up. It is a large group of these cones which has given rise to the name Hammam Meskoutin, or at least to the fantastic legend which has been coined to account for the name, and which reminds one of a story in the

"Arabian Nights." A brother and a sister, say the Arabs, formed the monstrous desire to unite themselves in wedlock, and even persuaded the kadi of their tribe to sanction the proceeding. The relations assembled to take part in the marriage ceremony, and the other members of the tribe stood some way off to witness it; when, just as the words were spoken which ratified the impious contract, the wrath of Heaven fell upon the whole assemblage, and changed them into the figures which now remain as a lesson to posterity.

The deposit of these springs is chiefly carbonate of lime, but the water from one of them is strongly impregnated with iron. This one is said to be extremely efficacious in healing obstinate wounds, sore backs of horses, and the like. About three-quarters of a mile off is another spring of ferruginous water, of a much lower temperature, which is taken internally. The efficacy of the hot springs in rheumatic complaints, or pains arising from gunshot wounds, is said to be almost miraculous. The porter told me that he had originally come there bent nearly double in consequence of a fall from his horse, and with his left side paralysed; but that in a fortnight he had perfectly recovered. He certainly was to all appearance straight in figure and sound in limb.

This locality was frequented by the Romans, and is in my opinion the *Aquæ Tibilitanæ* of the Antonine

Itinerary, placed in it at fifty-four miles from Constantine, and forty from Bona.* If I had not wandered from the route which had been laid down for me, I should have reached it in about fifty-six miles from Constantine; and the Roman roads generally ran straighter than the tracks in present use. By deviating to the southwards, I had extended the journey to nearly seventy miles. The old Roman road is nearly identical with the line of march taken by the French in their first expedition against Constantine which terminated so disastrously. The army passed to the north of those limestone rocks which I had seen on my left hand during the afternoon of the day on which I left Constantine, and suffered terribly from the cold; for the expedition was undertaken in the middle of November, and the country is absolutely bare of wood, so that not a fire could be made even to cook the soldiers' food. Marshal Clauzel, who commanded, had been altogether deceived by the false expectations held out to him, that the Arabs were favourable to the French cause, and that the gates of Constantine would be opened to him as soon as ever he appeared. So entirely confident was he of success, that on arriving before

* The Peutinger Table makes Hippo (Bona) forty-five miles from the Aquæ Tibilitanæ. Neither in it, nor in the Itinerary, does this route pass through Calama (Guelma). Nor is it at all necessary to do so. It is easy to see on the old road to the latter place the point where travellers going to Bona would have turned off to the north.

the town, he published an order of the day which had been lithographed in Bona, announcing that the expeditionary force would forthwith enter it. But not the least overture was made to him, and after two fruitless attempts at storming, the marshal was compelled to commence a retreat under such unfavourable circumstances, that except for the presence of mind and gallantry of General Changarnier, then commanding a battalion, who with less than 300 men effectually checked the advance of a body of 6,000 Arabs, it is supposed the whole French army would have been destroyed. As it was, they were compelled to leave some guns and all their wounded in the hands of the enemy, and were at last only saved by the weather, which had been extremely bad, suddenly changing.

The baths which the Romans made at Hammam Meskoutin are still used. They are cut in the tufo, which itself is the ancient deposit of the waters. One of them is of a large size, and is used for the common soldiers, who bathe in it by batches of fifty at a time. Another is devoted to the officers in the hospital. I obtained permission to use this; and felt some satisfaction at the thought of occupying the very chamber which had been used by a Sempronius or Cæcilius seventeen centuries before. The temperature was about 96° Fahrenheit, and the water had been cooling ever since the previous evening.

There is a third bath, likewise Roman, which is divided into three pools, all however under the same roof. This the French appropriate to women and children; and although there is no separation of any kind, carry their love of making regulations to the extent of compelling married women to use the first of the pools, single women the second, and children the third. Besides these, there is a hot douche (also Roman), which is applied with the water at the heat of 37° centigrade (98·6° Fahrenheit), and a vapour bath. There were sixty-one patients in the hospital at the time of my visit, of whom nine were civilians and the rest common soldiers, except one, a cantinière, the only female patient. There are four wards for soldiers, each containing fifty beds, and four rooms in another part of the building for officers, each intended for four beds; but at the time of my visit there were only five officers altogether.

The valley of Hammam Meskoutin is one of the loveliest spots I saw in Africa, and if it ever becomes a fashionable resort, which the Algerian newspapers are continually proclaiming as its approaching destiny, it may be made almost a fairy-land, the abundance of water and the temperature of the soil admitting of the cultivation of even tropical plants. In some parts there are still visible old foundations which appear to be the remains of Roman villas. The place is very

tolerably accessible, there being now a good road made between it and Guelma, which is only ten or twelve miles off, and itself connected with Bona on the coast by one of the best routes in Algeria. But at the present time there are no appliances whatever for the reception of visitors. The flowers bloom and the nightingales sing only for the delectation of the invalids in the hospital, who would infinitely prefer a cigar and a *café chantant.*

The town of Guelma is entirely modern. When the French arrived there in 1836, nothing whatever existed but some of the ruins of the ancient Calama; and these were made use of for the purpose of constructing a fortified position, to serve as a military hospital and a dépôt of stores for the operations against Constantine. Of course whatever building materials came to hand were seized without scruple; and no doubt the old Roman remains suffered much. There is still however to be seen what appears to have been an edifice containing public baths, and the walls of a theatre, besides several traces of ancient substructions in different parts of the town, and what looks like the foundation of the cella of a temple. The theatre is the most interesting relic, as exemplifying the tact of the ancients in the selection of a site. The concave of the pit is turned towards north-north-west by north, and in its construction, as always happens where circumstances permitted,

advantage has been taken of the hill side to cut out the benches. From a terrace which occupies the site of the ancient façade, the view is charming. Immediately in front runs a brook through a ravine. Behind this is broken ground covered with trees, from which the song of nightingales arises; and yet beyond runs the Seybouse, with precipitous banks on the north side. The river is backed by undulating hills rising one behind the other, and on the left and right, at the distance of six or seven miles, the view is closed by the Atlas thickly clothed with wood. Everything wears a smiling aspect of fertility, and bespeaks a well-watered country without anything like marsh. The Atlas range just opposite to the façade is comparatively low, so that the cool breezes from the littoral refreshed the promenaders under the portico which once existed. To stand on this lovely spot as the sun is just setting, and then turn round and look at the mean houses and loopholed enceinte of the modern Guelma, with its public promenade laid out in complete defiance of the climate, certainly does not impress one with a very high idea of the nineteenth century in what concerns architectural taste.

At this place, where a considerable number of the natives have been induced to settle, a gun is fired at sunset during the Ramadan; and at the signal the fast of the day is put an end to without loss of time.

An Arab chief connected with the French Government dined the day I arrived in the saloon of the only hotel, and ate an enormous dinner without asking any inconvenient questions. But at the termination some roast mutton was brought him, and being by this time completely gorged, he made anxious inquiries as to whether the sheep which furnished it had been slain by an Arab butcher. The waiter averred solemnly that it had; and no doubt would have been equally ready to pledge himself that the animal had expired under the knife of a Red Indian, had such an assertion been desired. But his testimony came a quarter of an hour too late to be unquestioned, and the Arab pushed away the dish with the air of a man who felt himself capable of any sacrifice for conscience sake. I could not help thinking of the Spanish fable of the two cats, who after devouring a fowl they find roasting, recoil with horror from the suggestion to eat the spit. During the few hours which follow sunset, the Arab cafés are full of visitors, sitting cross-legged on benches, and listening to the strains of the native flute, while they sip their coffee out of small teacups without handles, apparently made of very fine porcelain. The coffee is not ground, but pounded in mortars with heavy rammers of metal, nearly three feet in length. This instrument is held by the middle and raised by the operator, stripped naked to the waist, above the height of his head. It

is then let fall upon the coffee with the ejaculation "Ha-reeah," the first syllable being drawn out long, while the rammer is being elevated, and the latter synchronising with its fall upon the berries. Sometimes two or three persons are employed at the same time in the task; and when the work goes on well, the syllable "reeah" is repeated by each in such quick succession, that no interval is left. The meaning of the term, as it was interpreted to me, is "très-fort." I suppose it is in fact the hortatory "Hard all," of the English. In an establishment which I saw, the process was carried on by two negroes, the Arab proprietor sitting by their side smoking, while his ear informed him of the least relaxation in the efforts of his workmen.

Just outside the walls of Guelma a market is held, to which the Arabs come from a considerable distance, with salt, grain, oil, the wood for the red dye of women's hands and feet, poultry, vegetables, and fruit, besides cattle, horses, and mules. The camels which bring the articles of commerce are made to lie down in rows side by side, and remain so as long as the market lasts. Generally one of the fore-legs is tied up; and sometimes, but more rarely, two, when of course the creature cannot rise at all. When only one is confined, it can rise on its legs, and sometimes does so to obtain the ease of a change of position, but never attempts to move from the spot on which

it has been ordered to remain, although its disgust is ever and anon expressed by the same growl in which it never omits to protest against the original infringement on its locomotive powers. The hinder parts present a most singular appearance as the animal lies. The camel, as is well known, rests upon that part of its hind-leg (answering to the knee in the human being) which is in all other quadrupeds partially concealed by the skin of the belly. The effect of this is to raise the hock nearly to the level of the crupper, while all the part of the leg below the hock is tucked beneath out of sight, and the appearance is the same as if it had been cut off. There were some good horses for sale in the market for about 200 or 250 francs; which I was told was at a heavy depreciation below the ordinary price. I saw likewise some brood mares in foal, one of considerable beauty, but none of any stature. The depreciation in horses may perhaps arise from the greater utility of mules, now that the country is becoming settled. At Guelma, as at Tlemçen, the Government keep a considerable number of stallions for the use of the tribes; but together with these they also keep some fine male asses; and the demand for these is much greater than for the horses. Except for the purposes of war, the mule is a much more valuable animal to an Arab than the horse; and the great increase in mule-breeding as compared with horse-breeding is one of

the most convincing proofs of the natives becoming reconciled to French supremacy. Sometimes the male mules become troublesome; when they are castrated, no matter at what age the sexual disposition begins to display itself. I saw one which had just been sold, undergo this horrible operation in the open market; and although it could hardly have been less than six or seven years old, the occurrence was obviously an every-day one and excited not the least notice. The animal uttered no cry, and struggled very little, except just after it was cast.

The stone of which the ancient Calama was built is a tufo, obtained in the immediate vicinity. Indeed the whole neighbourhood abounds in it. It is excellently adapted for building purposes, as it works very easily, and grows harder with exposure to the sun. Large blocks of it form the skeleton, as it were, of the remaining portion of the ancient baths, which are situated within the precinct of the modern citadel. Of the edifice the most striking feature is two large arches, which enter the sides of what was a high apartment with cylindrical roof, serving, perhaps, as a *salle d'attente*, if the baths were public. Over the rectangular pieces of tufo, masses of the Roman flat brick alternate, by no means regularly, with blocks united by cement. I observed—what I do not remember ever remarking in Italy—that the bricks have lines channelled on their surface in patterns, that

is, the mould in which they were cast must have been cut. Probably this was done in order to give a better hold for the mortar. In these baths was found, as I was told, an inscription of some interest which I saw with others lying in the yard of a house where the chief officer of engineers at Guelma has his bureau. The last line was imbedded in the earth, so that only just the tips of the letters could be seen; but from the part above ground it appeared, that a weak spring of mineral water had, in the sequel of an earthquake, become much stronger, and overflowed the bounds of a stone *piscina* in which it had been hitherto received. The line concealed from view contained a notice of the special arrangement by which the inconvenience had been remedied. But the curious part of the matter is that, the names of the emperors Valens and Valentinianus appearing upon the stone, it becomes clear that the convulsion referred to is the remarkable one which occurred on the 20th of July, A.D. 365, the effects of which St. Jerome, speaking of it from his boyish recollections, says extended over the seaboard of the whole world. The sea suddenly receded, leaving vast tracts of its bottom bare. It afterwards returned, and overwhelmed the land in the neighbourhood of the parts which had been thus denuded. Alexandria in Egypt, the coast of Laconia, and that of Sicily, are mentioned by the historians as places which suffered in this way. The inscription of Guelma gives another

point at which volcanic action was felt. The mineral spring (*aqua picra*) began, it says, to overflow after shocks of earthquake accompanied by subterranean noises (*intonantibus terræ motibus*). I made every possible inquiry, but could not hear of the existence of any mineral spring at the present time; so it is probable that the fountain, which increased in the earthquake of Valens's reign, disappeared—as is often the case—in some subsequent convulsion of a similar kind.

The ancient Calama must, judging from the fertility of the neighbourhood and the character of the remains which still exist, have been a flourishing city. So much as this, too, is implied in a letter from a pagan of some wealth and position to St. Augustine, which is inserted among the epistles of the Latin father. But morally and religiously there was not much to be said for the inhabitants. The letter in question is written to deprecate the influence of the Bishop of Hippo from being exerted to the prejudice of the people of Calama, who in a riot which began by a collision between the participators in a pagan festival on the 1st of June and the Catholic party, had burnt the houses of the orthodox clergy, damaged the church, and compelled the bishop to save his life by flight.*

* This was Possidius, a friend and protégé of Augustine's. He took refuge in a manor-house near; upon which his assailants set fire to this, and he narrowly escaped being burnt alive. The Donatists, who had a bishop of their own at Calama, were believed

Augustine's correspondent (one Nectarius) possesses a perfect readiness to make good all losses which may have been suffered, and only deprecates any additional punishment. But, if we may trust the bishop's reply, a life had been lost in the course of the affair, and the pagans had been manifestly the aggressors, by bringing a troop of dancers past the church. He gives very little hope that the satisfaction to be exacted will, so far as he is concerned, fall short of the just standard; although it is impossible to be blind to a hint that, by becoming a Christian—as it seems his father had done before him—Nectarius might obtain a greater influence with those in whose hands the fate of his townsmen rested. Neither at Guelma, nor Philippeville, nor Arzew, did I see among the tumulary

to have encouraged the mob in their attack,—a precedent which has not remained without imitators even in the most enlightened ages and tolerant countries. Crispinus, however, who was fined ten pounds of gold for the share he had (or was accused of having) in the outrage, seems not to have been the Donatist bishop, but a priest of the same name. Possidius took the magnanimous part of obtaining the remission of the fine; but Crispinus, instead of exhibiting thankfulness, appealed to the emperor against the justice of the sentence altogether. It so happened that the proconsul of Africa at the time was a zealous Catholic, and so unsparing in the use of the secular arm, that Augustine is obliged to beg him not to put heretics to death, but to confine his efforts to correcting their errors. "Ex occasione terribilium judicium ac legum, ne in æterni judicii pœnas incidant, corrigi eos cupimus non necari; nec disciplinam circa eos negligi volumus nec supplicia quibus digni sunt exerceri. *Sic igitur eorum peccata compesce ut sint quos pœniteat peccasse.* (*Ep. ad Donatum*, C, vol. II. p. 354.) If he continues to be so severe, Augustine adds, the churchmen, who are the only persons that care to appeal to him, will become unwilling to do so, and their enemies learning this will grow even more audacious.

inscriptions, that were in existence, any of a Christian character. Some, indeed, betray, very painfully, quite an opposite feeling. One at the first-named place speaks almost with bitterness of the disappointment of a father, who had educated two sons expensively, and lost them both after launching them in life. By way of consolation in his old age he begins to erect a magnificent tomb for himself, and the only hope he expresses is that he shall live to finish it. The space for his age is left unfilled up, and the latinity in which his sentiments are expressed is as miserable as the spirit from which they proceeded.

Between Hammam Meskoutin and Guelma there are several European farms; and I can conceive no more favourable position for a settler, if only good roads could be made to connect the place with Constantine and Philippeville. With the latter, perhaps, it will be attempted, by extending the route which is in course of formation between Philippeville and Jemappes. I heard no complaints of fever at Guelma, and the beauty and fertility of the country, the abundance of water, and the plentiful supply of building material at hand, are points which must strike the most casual observer. Yet the people complain that there is no commerce. Their proposed remedy for the evil is thoroughly French. It is to make Guelma the head-quarters of a division of the army!

The road from Guelma to Bona crosses the Seybouse

on a substantial bridge, and almost immediately begins by a gradual ascent to wind among the hills which intervene before finally descending from the plateau of the Atlas into the plain to the south of Bona. The traveller first reaches Heliopolis, an extremely thriving French village of about 400 houses, well supplied with water, and healthy. The inhabitants turn their attention chiefly to the growth of mulberry-trees for silk, —the most profitable investment for capital in this part of Africa. Beyond Heliopolis is Guela Bousba, and yet further Nechimaya, the latter containing only about thirty houses, the former (I should say) even less. The inhabitants of Nechimaya are almost all Germans, either from Alsace or the Black Forest. They cultivate cereals, and appear quite contented with their success; and they do not complain of any fever in the summer-time, which is the general topic of conversation with a stranger in those localities where it prevails. All these villages, as well as Penthiévre, which is something less than half-way between Guelma and Bona, are really in their origin fortified camps, constructed to maintain the line of communication between Bona and Constantine. About thirty-five miles from the former place the road begins to descend into the plain, and when it reaches this it becomes very bad, having before been good all the way from Guelma. At Penthiévre, with the exception of an inn, there are within the enceinte

only two or three shops kept by Maltese, and a gendarmerie; but the inn is really comfortable for Africa, and one might very well pass the night there. North of Penthiévre the wood, which covers the flanks of the Atlas in the central province, reappears; and in every respect the soil seems similar to that of the Sahel of Algiers. In the immediate neighbourhood of the road the ground has been brought under cultivation by the Arabs, but the wild boars from the thicket do them much damage. One of these creatures was disturbed in his work of destruction, in the middle of the day, by our horses, and set off at full speed for the neighbouring wood. He was the largest boar I ever saw, —far bigger than the wild boars of Germany. But the African variety is by no means so formidable an animal as the European. The African boars, when hunted by battue, get away if they possibly can without charging the sportsman, unless they be wounded ineffectually. The lion, on the other hand, unhesitatingly attacks the beaters; and for this reason the Government does not allow him to be attacked in this way, which General Youssouf, when commandant of Bona, made for a time fashionable. There was scarcely ever a lion hunt at which a native or two were not destroyed.* In the ordinary method of killing the

* An account appeared in *Galignani*, about three months after I passed along this road, of the Guelma diligence (which in the summer travels by night) having been stopped by a lion who was lying down in the middle of it, and who did not suffer himself to be

animal there is no risk to any one but the hunter, and very little to him, if he chooses to shoot the lion from an ambuscade.

In descending the hills to the plain of Bona, the large lake which makes the place a centre of attraction to the sportsman who is fond of duck-shooting, shows itself in the distance to the north-west. The immediate neighbourhood of the town is very pretty. Owing to the wet soil there are a good many trees, and among them a few palms. The acacia is particularly abundant, and the difference of climate showed itself strikingly in the circumstance of this being in full bloom, although it was only the 22nd of April.

The vicissitudes which the name of this town has undergone while retaining its identity, are an emblem of its fortunes. Ubbo, the Punic name, is analogous to Velia, or Velletri, and indicates the character of its site in the midst of marshes. The two rivers, the Boujermah from the south-west, and the Seybouse from the south-east, enter the sea very near to each other. Between the two, about a mile from their present mouths, rise two mamelons, partially united with each other, but altogether insulated from the

frightened away by the burning of paper, by means of which the passengers hoped to get rid of him. He soon, however, relieved them of his unwelcome presence by walking off. I have no doubt this lion was thoroughly gorged with the flesh of the wild swine which abound here, and had lain down to sleep on the road, as a drunken man will do, from sheer inability to go farther.

higher hills which separate the valleys of the two rivers. These two mamelons, or perhaps the westernmost of them, which is the higher of the two, was, it cannot be doubted, the site of the original Ubbo. The irregular triangular-shaped area, which is now cut off between the mamelons and the two rivers, is even at the present time little better than a marsh, and in former days was no doubt both lower and less extensive, having been for many centuries increased by the deposits brought down by the rivers whenever their streams were swelled by heavy rains. The Greek merchants converted the Punic Ubbo into the word in their own language which came nearest in sound, viz. Hippo or Hippon.* This latter was changed into the form Hippona, from the instinctive tendency to give a feminine form to the name of a town; Hippona in its turn was corrupted into Bona by the Spaniards of the middle ages; and this, in its French shape Bône, is perhaps doomed at no distant period to suffer some fresh change. Bône is not the actual city of which Augustine was bishop, but about a mile and a half from it, on the other side of the Boujermah. It occupies the site of a Saracen town, built at the close of the seventh century, partly from the ruins of

* This was also the name of one of the ten towns of the Palestinian Decapolis, probably, also, a Phœnician settlement (Pliny *H. N.* V. 19), and, I suspect, it constitutes the last part of the word Bors-ippa, the name of the tower of Babel,—the "tower of the river,"—which appears in the inscription upon it.

Hippo; but this latter was destroyed by the Vandals, with the exception of the episcopal palace and library. The new position, although not so fitted for commercial purposes as Hippo, is much stronger as a military post, for it is protected by a high and steep hill, upon the top of which a kasbah, or citadel, was built by the kings of Tunis; and this, before the invention of gunpowder, must have been nearly impregnable.* The French acquired the possession of this fortress by the courage and address of two individuals, Captain Armandy, who commanded a brig of war lying in the roads of Bona, and Youssouf, then a subaltern officer of spahis. These officers, with 130 French soldiers and marines, occupied the citadel on the 26th of March, 1832, at the instant of its temporary abandonment by each of two conflicting claimants to the obedience of the people of Bona; and for some time had to hold their ground against enormous odds. They were at last adequately supported, and Bona has since remained in the hands of the French, who made it the base of their operations against Constantine. The kasbah is now converted into a military prison, which appeared to me excellently conducted. A great deal of work is got through by the prisoners. I saw them performing the operations of stone-cutting,

* The hill of the Kasbah at Bona, is probably the *Castellum Sinitense*, which St. Augustine describes as "Hipponensi Coloniæ vicinum." (*De Civitate Dei*, xxii. 11.)

carpentry, and smith's work, with a steadiness and alacrity which would have been creditable to paid labourers in England, and this with very little apparent supervision. Their appearance, too, was perfectly healthy, and I was informed by the intendant that even in summer-time they suffered very little; although the plain of Bona is considered one of the most unhealthy spots in the whole of Algeria. Their diet slightly differs from that of the Lambessa prisoners. Together with their soup they are allowed 150 grammes (between 5 and 6 oz.) of fine white bread. They get only 120 instead of 150 grammes of rice; but on the other hand they are allowed thirty-two grammes of coffee, and a very small quantity of salt, sugar, and wine. In all other respects the allowance is exactly the same as at Lambessâ. But this liberal dietary is not extended to those who either refuse to work, or are prevented from doing it by injury or bodily infirmity. Such receive only 150 grammes of meat instead of 250, and ten grammes of bacon instead of fifty, and no wine, sugar, or coffee whatever. For punishment the diet is reduced to 750 grammes of bread and water; and this, together with solitary confinement, sometimes extended to a period of three months, is found altogether effectual. At the last inspection, out of 460 prisoners only three were under punishment, and these were released by an order of the general. Yet there are among these men several

sentenced for a very long period, and some even for life, and under such circumstances it is difficult to conceive that there should not be many desperate characters. Certainly, however, if manners and physiognomy are any test, the discipline was very effective.* It should not be omitted, from the description of this prison, that, although excellent provision appeared to be made for the spiritual amelioration of the prisoners, no diminution of the time of imprisonment ever follows as the reward of real or supposed moral improvement. This regulation is, in my opinion, an extremely wise one, not only as a protection against hypocrisy, but in the interests of the character of the penitent himself. No man who really repents of a crime wishes to be spared the temporal punishment for it. On the contrary, its expiation by suffering is essential to the recovery of his self-respect; just as no honest bankrupt, if fortune afterwards smiles upon him, is easy till he has repaid his creditors in full.

The only visible ancient remains of Hippo consist of a set of cisterns on the north-east side of the mamelon which has been described above, and a bridge across the Boujermah, about a furlong below them, the Boujermah running close under the western side of the mamelon. The town probably extended

* At the time I visited the Kasbah of Bona, there were only 251 inmates; 200 had been removed to Toulon a few days before.

to the south-east of the latter, taking in the other little hill, and reaching as far as the Seybouse, on the banks of which is a quay of Roman foundations. Very near here must have been the mouth of the Seybouse, and the port of Hippo, in the fifth century of the Christian era; for at that time there was free entrance for sea-going ships, whereas the deposits of the two rivers have now closed the Seybouse even to coasting vessels of more than five or six tons, and the Boujermah to everything but quite small boats. One day while I was at Bona, a native procession took place for the purpose of supplicating for the removal of the drought, and some Arab boys, carrying flags, walked across the mouth of the river. Yet this stream appears to bring down greater deposits than the other. It has left a bar extending continuously from the town quite across the line of the stream of the Seybouse; so that to pass out to sea, a boat from the latter river would be obliged, after passing the mouth of the Seybouse, to stand to the eastward for some distance in order to get round the extremity of the bar of the Boujermah.

The cisterns themselves seem to have originally consisted of two blocks containing three each, a thick wall being built between the two blocks, on the top of which a passage ran for the purpose of affording access to the interior for repairs or cleansing. It communicated with a similar one that ran along the backs of the two blocks, and separated them from

a large swimming bath, which might have been 120 feet long and near 50 broad. This bath was not supplied from any one of the six original cisterns (which, I conceive, were appropriated for the drinking water of Hippo), but from a seventh smaller cistern, built on to the north-west side of these. As the swimming bath and the six original cisterns form a parallelogram, the regularity of the whole area is preserved by a mass of buildings in continuation of the seventh, which appear to have contained vapour baths, and apartments for attendants. On an esplanade above the level of the cisterns, the French ecclesiastics have erected a kind of altar tomb to the great bishop of Hippo, and surmounted it with a statue of diminutive size but fair execution, representing the saint bestowing his benediction on the French town which lies before him. I was told that a portion of the genuine relics was preserved there; but however this may be, there can be no doubt that the site is destined for a future cathedral; and it is difficult to conceive a more striking position for such an edifice. From hence the hill of the Kasbah is a mile or a mile and a half to the north-north-east, with the Boujermah entering the sea immediately after passing close under its south-east foot. Sweeping eastwards from this point the eye passes over the roads of Bona, until at the east-north-east appears the termination of the hills which form the eastern side of the valley of the

Seybouse. On the western side of the Boujermah is a low fertile plain extending about a mile in breadth from the river, backed by steep mountains covered with wood. Immediately below the spectator is a grove of wild olives of many hundred years old, growing in all probability over the ruins of the ancient Hippo. Here and there are clearances, occupied by small European farms, belonging to Frenchmen, but in almost all cases let to Maltese. The other mamelon which has been mentioned is crowned with a building, which I believe the French have converted into an hospital; but I did not visit it. On the top of the hill of the cisterns is also a building apparently of Moorish construction, which has been used as a block-house, but it is now in ruins. I took a great deal of pains to discover some trace of the aqueduct which supplied the cisterns of Hippo with water, but did not succeed. It must, I think, have come from the hills which divide the two rivers; but although the mamelon from which the cisterns are excavated is entirely detached from these,* not a vestige of any constructions remains in the plain

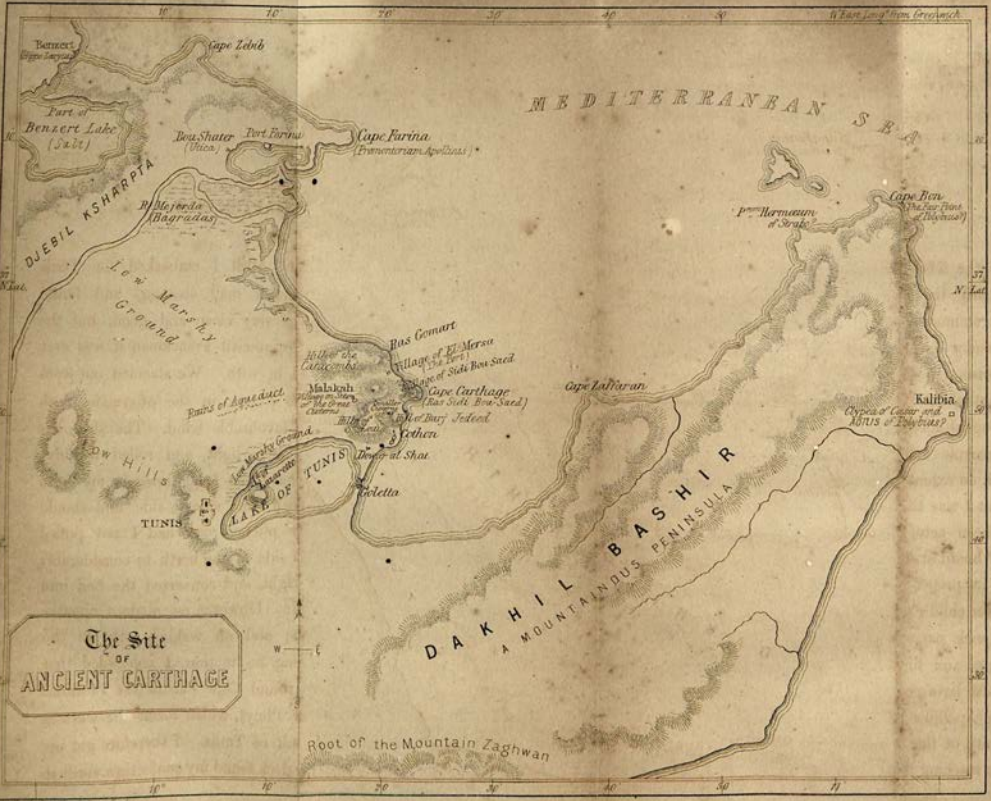
* Sir Grenville Temple erroneously describes the hill of the cisterns as connected with the mountains which back it. But at the time he was on the spot, it was dangerous to proceed even a mile from Bona without a strong military force, and his inspection was obviously confined to the north side of the mamelon. The danger from wild beasts of which he speaks must, I think, have been imaginary in the day-time; although it is possible that the *battues* of General Youssouf have, since the time of his visit, altered the character of the neighbourhood in this respect.

between; nor could I find any in the hills. As these latter however are covered with wood, detection of anything of the kind is much more difficult.

There are some iron mines in the mountains eight or nine miles from Bona, the ore from which is brought to a smelting-house on the bank of the Seybouse by a tram-road, which however is not yet completed for the whole of the way. The works belong to a company whose operations seem as yet to have been confined to the making their own machinery: for no iron has yet been sold, although the company has been in action for ten or twelve years. The work at the smelting-house seemed going very languidly, although the superintendent told me that the ore was rich. I saw some negroes at work breaking it with hammers for the furnace. These men are satisfied to work for two francs and a half a day, and are preferred to Europeans, as they do not cease their operations on Sundays. There were also three Germans there, who seemed much dissatisfied with their position. They told me they never earned more than three francs in the day,—miserable payment indeed for the work of a smelting-house in Africa!

The hills in the immediate neighbourhood of Bona are composed of a limestone which in several instances is crystallized into marble; and I was told that there were several quarries in the neighbourhood which promised to be profitable. But here, as everywhere

else, good roads are wanted; and even if they were made, it seems impossible that any port can be created without an enormous expenditure. The roads of Bona are very unsafe,—far more so than those of Stora. The wrecks of two vessels on the bar were a melancholy proof before my eyes of this fact. Yet at the present time whatever is embarked has to be conveyed in quite small boats to ships in the roads. At Bona itself, there is no space for wharves. Possibly extensive quays might be constructed by the help of piles on the low plain between the rivers. But the expense would be frightful. An artificial channel would have to be made, and kept open: and this would involve engineering operations on a great scale. And in the meantime, the French go on blasting rocks and constructing batteries to defend the town against some imaginary enemy, although the whole trade of the place is not equal to that of the poorest fishing-town on the south coast of England.

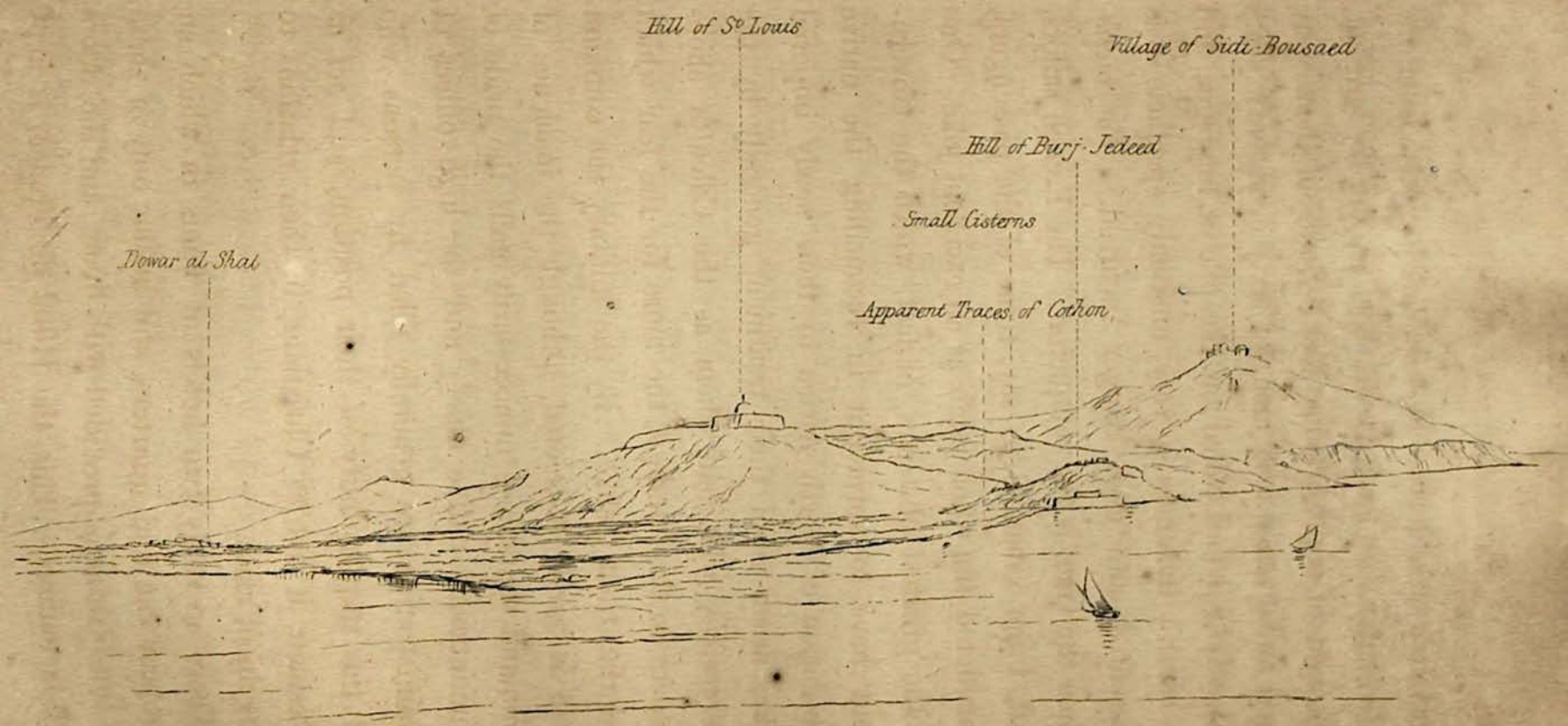

MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Cape Zebib
Part of Benzert Lake (Salt)
Bou Shater (Utica)
Port Farina
Cape Farina (Promontorium Apollinis)
DJEBIL KSHARPTA
R. Mejerda (Bagradas)
Low Marshy Ground
Pr. Harmaeum of Strabo
Cape Bon (The Fair Plain of Polybius?)
37° N. Lat.
Ras Gomart
Village of El Mersa
Village of Sidi Bou Said
Cape Carthage (Ras Sidi Bou Said)
Hollow the Catacombs
Ruins of Aqueduct
Malakah
Cape La Fouran
Kalibia
Capes of Clupea and Aspis of Polybius?
Bir el Bury Island
Sfethen
Low Marshy Ground
Low Hills
Lowest Ground
Tombs of Shat
LAKE OF TUNIS
Goletta
TUNIS
DAKHIL BASHIR
A MOUNTAIN DUS PENINSULA
The Site of ANCIENT CARTHAGE
Root of the Mountain Zaghwan

It was about four o'clock, and as the light gradually appeared, the low flat land of the beach of the Goletta showed itself, with high mountains (as they seemed) rising on the eastern side of it. Soon after four o'clock we dropped our anchor about a mile from the Goletta. This is the name given, originally by the Venetians, to the narrow entrance in the bank of sand which separates the Lake of Tunis from the sea. It was, however, not till nearly eight o'clock that we were enabled to land. We had about fifty Arabs on board as deck passengers, who were going on a pilgrimage to Mecca; and they were here to be transferred to another vessel which was to take them on to Alexandria. The poor creatures were treated with a degree of discourtesy and want of common humanity which was very painful to witness. Soon after the ship let fall her anchor, the agent of the other steamer boarded us, and the captain immediately requested him "avoir la complaisance de me débarrasser de ce vermin là." It was very natural that he should wish to get rid of any or all of his passengers, and no doubt it is rather difficult to make an Arab stir from any position he has taken up: but ruffianism never helps matters on. I came afterwards from Malta to Gibraltar in an English steamer where we had nearly a hundred pilgrims returning from Mecca to Morocco; and although the class of skippers is certainly a lower one socially in England than in France, the constitu-

tional good nature and good feeling of the British seaman exhibited itself in the conduct both of commander and crew to these poor people throughout a tedious voyage of six days; and when we reached our destination, I believe not a man, woman, or child quitted the ship without a friendly feeling towards the English. But in the debarkation at Tunis, when a boat at last came alongside, the packs of the pilgrims were fished up from the hold and tumbled—not seldom kicked—with an ostentatious carelessness into it. Of course the owner continually poked himself forward, with the nervous manner of an unprotected female, to snatch at some pot or pan or basket which he fancied in peril; and this proceeding, which a very few words of Arabic would have prevented altogether, was met by seizing him by the neck and hurling him back by main force. At last, when the luggage was safely stowed in the yawl, the pilgrims had to follow it. By bringing the boat round to the ladder-side of the steamer the whole party might have descended in an orderly manner in three minutes. This however would, I fancy, have been considered a breach of etiquette, and disrespectful to the cabin passengers. The Arabs were sent down the rope-ladder, and when this proceeding, from their nervousness, their exhaustion from sea-sickness, and the encumbrance of their huge bournouses, naturally occasioned some delay, the poor

wretches were forced by menaces to jump from the side of the steamer into the boat as she lay surging, a height of eight or nine feet. Some of them were aged and even infirm men, of sixty or seventy years old, who fell and rolled on the pile of luggage; and in several instances a very unseemly spectacle was presented and even danger incurred. *Væ victis*, when the Gaul is the conqueror! The French sailors, and, I am ashamed to say, some of the passengers, considered the whole affair as an excellent joke. One of the greatest obstacles, in fact, which the Government have to surmount in reconciling the native population of North Africa to their newly imposed yoke, arises from their treatment generally by the *bourgeoisie*, who hate them as the Calcutta shopkeepers do the Hindoos, the more for the fear which underlies their dislike. By the military the common Arab is rarely ill-treated, although the insolence of command sometimes unnecessarily galls the pride of some ancient native chief; and the high offices of administration are generally filled by persons who feel the responsibility of their position, and act as statesmen, if not as Christians, in their relations to the subject class.

There are only two hotels at Tunis in which an European can find quarters, and in one only of these are the bedrooms provided with doors, and the doors with fastenings. This, the Hôtel de France, is kept



SITE OF
CARTHAGE TAKEN FROM THE DECK OF STEAMER AT ANCHOR IN THE ROADS

THE HILL OF ST LOUIS BEARING DUE NORTH

by a very obliging person, but the accommodations are extremely inadequate when there is any pressure produced by the arrival of a steamer. I was obliged to content myself with a small room in which I was nearly suffocated by the heat, the summer weather having set in earlier than usual this year. Tunis is eight or ten miles from the Goletta, and the traveller may proceed thither either in a carriage, or by a boat across the lake. I preferred the latter, as there was a capital breeze; and we ran the distance in less than an hour, being obliged to tack once only. There are a few houses at Goletta, of the same kind which may be seen at Gosport, and a custom-house where the luggage is searched without any vexatious rigour. On landing at Tunis, you are introduced into another custom-house, where the same form is repeated, and a small fee demanded. The customs are farmed by Jews,—the "publicans" under Turkish conquerors in the nineteenth century, as their forefathers were under the Romans in the first. A fine looking middle-aged man, whose grave features might have served Leonardo for a study of St. Matthew, sat by superintending the operations of the clerk, and bowed me out of the apartment with a dignified courtesy which it was certainly worth more than a couple of piastres to witness.

After making my toilette and breakfasting, I devoted the remainder of the day to rambling about

the city; but although the Frank dress does not expose its wearer to insult, much greater circumspection is requisite in the indulgence of curiosity than at Constantine. No mosque can be entered,—a circumstance which is unfortunate, as more than in any other city of North Africa, except perhaps Constantine, would one be likely to find the remains of antiquity imbedded in modern erections, the ruins of ancient Carthage having furnished for nearly 2,000 years an almost inexhaustible quarry. But with the exception of one or two rows of columns, and walls supporting a tottering entablature, no traces of the Roman times appear in the streets of Tunis. The upper part of the town contains the habitations of the Moors, and several bazaars; the lower, which is comprised between an inner and an outer line of fortification, is appropriated to the Jews and Christians, of which latter the chief part are Maltese. No words can describe the filth of this portion of Tunis. Dirt of every description chokes up the streets. It is never removed by any other agency than that of the storm rains; and I was told that when these occurred, the town could not be traversed except actually on stilts. In the space between the two lines of wall, one continually comes on the ruins of houses which have fallen, and, according to Turkish precedent, been invariably allowed to remain; and through it there creeps a ditch, the natural outfall

of the accumulated filth, fouler than even the Fleet-ditch of the Dunciad. The mephitic exhalations of the place would, one would think, render the plague perennial; but, singularly enough, Tunis has a high reputation for healthiness as compared with other Mahometan cities. This has been accounted for in the præ-sanitarian times by the large amount of fragrant plants consumed in heating the baths of the place; but if the salubrity be real, and not as imaginary as the celebrated salmon with whose properties King Charles is said to have puzzled the Royal Society, it is perhaps in some degree due to the fresh breeze which every day blows over the neighbouring lake. The streets, too, in very many instances meet overhead, and the layer of dirt with which they are lined is thus protected from the quickening influence of the sun, while the inhabitants, living in houses of which the windows open into square courts, are only exposed to the miasma of the streets when they have occasion to pass through them. At the same time, nothing can be more uncertain than the true rate of mortality in any Mahometan city. The repugnance which the Moslems feel for any shadow of interference with the privacy of their family life precludes the possibility of all accurate information. Even in Algiers the French have never ventured to enforce the registration of births and deaths among the Moorish population.

The bazaars of Tunis are very extensive and much frequented, and the shopkeepers have the reputation of being fair dealers. Tunis is the staple of the native woollen and leather manufactures throughout the beylik, and also receives those of Tripoli. It is likewise the natural outlet of the trade with Ghadames and Fezzan. Besides slippers and bournouses, the red cap, called a fez, which the natives wear over their bare heads, is a chief article of commerce. The Tunis caps are said to be dyed a finer and more lasting colour than any others. A similar supremacy exists in the matter of perfumes, especially attar of roses, for which there are a great number of shops in the bazaars. It has been mentioned above that Hadrian made, or restored, the road between Carthage and Theveste; and by this route opened a communication with the oases of Biskra. This is the course which the trade with that part of Africa would even now take if Algeria were not in the hands of the French, and undoubtedly will take should their conquests extend eastward. But in the meantime, the unsettled state of the country south of El Kef (the Sicca Veneria of the Itinerary) effectually prevents the passage of caravans along this route. The whole of the frontier between Tunis and Algeria is as unsafe as that between Algeria and Morocco, and for the same reasons. I was informed, however, by Mr. Wood, the English Consul at Tunis, that the

interior of the beylik might, in his opinion, be safely visited by an English traveller with the protection of a small escort of Tunisian soldiers; and few localities present a more interesting field for the scholar. It would be necessary however in such an expedition to be furnished with a tent, and even with provisions; and it would be rash for any one to enter upon it who was not fairly master of the native language, and tolerably familiar with the manners of the wandering tribes. And after all, the following up the line of the ancient cities would necessarily carry the traveller across the frontier, and expose him to the risk of attack from the bad subjects on both sides, while under these circumstances he would probably find he must rely upon himself and his European companions for any effectual defence.

I set off very early the next morning after my arrival at Tunis for the site of ancient Carthage, with the intention of spending the whole of the day on the spot, returning at night, and repeating my visit the next day. There is a good road passing across the plain, on the western side of the Lake of Tunis, and in less than two hours a one-horse cabriolet driven by a Maltese took me to the hill of St. Louis, a point which in the flourishing days of Carthage was probably the highest part of the *Byrsa* (citadel). I differ however from those who believe that it is the locality Virgil had in his eye

in the description he gives of the early settlement effected by Dido. Its modern name is derived from the circumstance that King Louis of France pitched his camp here in his ill-fated expedition against Tunis in the year 1270. The French obtained a grant of the hill from the Tunisian Government shortly after their capture of Algiers, and within the last three or four years have prepared the locality for conversion into a military position by building a wall around it. On the summit a chapel, which forms a landmark from a considerable distance around, is erected over the remains of the monarch, who was carried off by a fever soon after his arrival. The saintly virtues he exhibited in his first crusade, procured him such a reputation throughout Islam, that the natives at this day believe he became on his death-bed a convert to the religion of the Prophet, changed his name to Bou-Saed (Father of Happiness), and is actually interred in a village three or four miles to the north, called after him, Sidi Bou-Saed. To this village, on that very account, a character of extraordinary sanctity is attached.

About one-third of a mile from the hill of St. Louis, in a north-east direction, are the so-called Small Cisterns of Carthage, an oblong mass of building containing eighteen reservoirs for water. Sir Grenville Temple gives as the dimensions of each—

Length, 93 feet.
Width, 19 feet 8 inches.
Depth, 27 feet 6 inches.

Of this last but seventeen feet were filled with water, the remainder serving only to support the vaulted roof with which the tanks were covered. I had no time to verify these measurements; but there is every appearance that they are correct. In another particular, however, I think Sir Grenville is in error, viz. in believing that these cisterns were supplied not by an aqueduct, but merely by rain-water. There is no trace (I think) of that which under such circumstances is essential—a filtering tank for allowing the water to leave its deposits. From the elevation of the cisterns, too, it is not easy to point out any considerable area of surface which could be made to drain into them; none (I think I may safely say), the annual rainfall upon which would fill them to anything like the height of seventeen feet. On the other hand, they are obviously intended for the supply of a large area. Only a few yards in their rear is a hill of which the top has been levelled. In the middle of the flat space is a parallelogram of stone, which can hardly be anything else than the base of the cella of a temple. The hill in question is connected by broken ground with the hill of St. Louis, which is certainly considerably higher, and commands the whole neighbourhood. But between it and the cisterns there is a slight ravine, and before the

invention of gunpowder, the hill with the levelled top would be a natural citadel. Upon it, overlooking the sea, is a small Turkish fort called Burj Jedeed, and between this and the sea may be traced most distinctly the foundations of an ascent from the water's edge. The very moment that I saw this site, it struck me as being evidently the spot upon which the first permanent settlement would be made by trading adventurers. Just to the south of the hill, the Phœnician merchants would run their ships ashore on exactly such a beach as attracted ancient navigators. Scarcely under any circumstances would the least surf break upon it. The north-east by east is the only wind, if there be any at all, from which it is not effectually protected. The nomads who brought their wool, dates, slaves, and precious stones from the interior would pitch their tents, and the inhabitants of the immediate neighbourhood erect their *gourbis*, upon the wide flat space to the west and south-west of the hill of St. Louis; while the marsh which formerly existed, where now is the shallowest part of the lake of Tunis, would furnish abundance of food for the animals and reeds for the *gourbis*. Here then were obviously the sites of the Magaria* and the Byrsa—of the Libyan fonduck

* Magaria (or Magalia) became in Greek μέγαρα, by which name Polybius and Appian call the fauxbourg of Carthage which subsequently occupied this site. Bochart has pointed out the relationship of the word, which was obviously a native one, with the Hebrew *magurim* (habitations).

and the fortified *factory* of the "African Company" of the great commercial nation of antiquity. The whole scene mapped itself out to the imagination at a glance, in reply to the mental question, whereabouts on the line of coast could vessels, navigated as those of the ancients were, be safely brought to shore? I felt perfectly satisfied as to the answer, even before mounting the levelled area on the hill of Burj-Jedeed. When I did this, and found the foundations of the *cella* in the middle, it became obvious to me that here was the temple of Æsculapius, the aspect of which from the sea was a characteristic feature of ancient Carthage. Equally impossible is it to doubt of the position of the Cothon, the artificial *dock*—not really harbour—of the ancient city. The two portions into which it was divided may be distinctly observed from the top of the hill of St. Louis, as well as the island in the middle of the interior portion. Even the communication with the sea is still traceable; although the disintegrated remains of the buildings which once surrounded it have left this a mere ditch, as similar causes have enormously diminished the size of the Cothon itself.

The elevated ground, of which the hill of St. Louis forms the southern extremity, continues along the line of the coast for three or four miles, its crest being on an average about three-quarters of a mile from the sea, towards which the ground falls gently, intersected

here and there with ravines. For the distance just mentioned, the direction is about north-north-east; but on arriving at Sidi Bou-Saed, where its elevation is the greatest, the plateau turns suddenly to the north-west, and soon descends rapidly to the level of the plain. Presently another hill rises, called Djebel Gomart, and beyond this is a large tract of low marshy ground, extending as far as the foot of the mountains which run in an easterly direction, and end in Cape Farina. All along the sea-line, from the immediate neighbourhood of the Cothon as far as this marsh, foundations of buildings are traceable in the water; and between the hills of Sidi Bou-Saed and Djebel Gomart, a village in the immediate neighbourhood of the sea, where the present Bey of Tunis has a country palace, is at this day called El Mersa (the Port). The marshy ground just noticed extends to the south-west as far as the low hills, upon one of which the kazbah of Tunis stands. If we suppose the level of the whole neighbourhood to sink some twenty feet, the low prairie would be converted into a sort of sea-loch, winding in the direction of south-east by south, and reducing the present wide plain of Tunis to a narrow strip of land. The bar of sand which separates the lake of Tunis from the sea would be washed away, and the latter would come up nearly to the walls of the present town. Such an imaginary state of things corresponds, I believe, very nearly to

that which actually existed at the time when Carthage the Great was destroyed. It is necessary as an hypothesis for the purpose of understanding the accounts of Polybius and Appian, almost all the details of which are brought into perfect harmony by it; and as the former was, so to speak, on the staff of the Roman commander when the city was taken, while in this part of his history, unfortunately lost, he is represented by the latter, these two authorities stand on a totally different footing from any others which have came down to us, whose accounts are in all cases at best second-hand.*

At the time of the third Punic war, it seems certain (if we take Polybius, and, where he fails us, Appian, as adequate evidence) that the *harbour* of Carthage was on the *western* side of a peninsula of which the north-west and north-east extremities are represented by Djebel Gomart and Sidi Bou-Saed respectively, while its neck was no more than twenty-five stades (two-and-a-half geographical miles) across. And not only was the harbour on the western side of this peninsula, but its mouth looked to the westward, and vessels sailing out of it got at once into the open sea,

* Strabo is, I believe, no exception. He sailed along the coast, but there cannot be a greater contrast than the description he gives of this, and that of a part of Egypt which it is certain he personally visited. The remark in the text is not, however, intended to apply to Procopius; but the Carthage of his time is the city Augustus and Hadrian restored, not that which Scipio destroyed.

Utica, which was so situated that the two cities could be seen from one another, was also at this time *upon the sea*. The Romans made use of it as the base of their naval operations, and there was so much water in the immediate neighbourhood of Carthage, that they could bring their ships close up to the shore of the latter, and from them not only use their missiles with effect, but constantly menace—and in one instance actually attempt—escalade of the wall of the town. In the neighbourhood of the mouth of the harbour, there ran off from the Isthmus a long spit of land, about 100 yards broad, called "the Tongue," in a westerly direction, separating the open sea from "a lake." Across this lake Scipio carried a part of the troops with which he captured the military camp at Nepheris; so that it must have been navigable at least for boats.* The spit ran so near to the mouth of the Carthaginian harbour, that he formed the idea of preventing the egress of their galleys by running a mole from it across the mouth; and he proceeded sufficiently far in his scheme to alarm the enemy, and induce them to cut another opening while he was so engaged.† Outside of the harbour, and seaward of

* Strabo says that the distance from Carthage across to the opposite shore was sixty stades, and from the landing-place to the town of Nepheris, high up in the mountains, 120 more.

† It is generally assumed that Scipio actually closed the mouth of the harbour, and this was the way in which his operation was *talked of at Rome* (Appian, viii. 134). But in the narrative of the actual proceedings this does not appear; and in fact rather the contrary is

the old mouth (and probably of the new one also), was an extensive quay, running along in front of the town-wall, upon which the merchants frequenting the harbour used to pile up their cargoes. It was so broad, that in their apprehension that the Romans might occupy it in force, the townspeople built out a low fort in front of it to prevent such a catastrophe.* Scipio did eventually attack this quay from the water-side by means of floating towers and other machines of the like kind; but on his first attack the Carthaginians got at these, some by wading and some by swimming, and succeeded in burning the whole, and infusing an almost fatal panic into the attacking force.

On the south of the town, looking in the direction of the mainland, was the Byrsa, with a triple line of

implied. The larger ships of the Carthaginians were prevented from getting back into the harbour by the new mouth, because the smaller vessels preceding them fell foul of one another. Several of them were captured from this circumstance; but yet, after night-fall, those which remained "escaped into the town" (Appian, viii. 123). Scipio, after this affair, changed his tactics, and succeeded in effecting the object for which he had desired to close the harbour by other means.

* παρατείχισμα βραχὺ is the expression of Appian; and he once afterwards calls it διατείχισμα. The commentators are sadly puzzled to explain the matter. I conceive it to have been a redoubt built out into the sea from the middle of the face of the quay. It cannot have been merely a breastwork *along* the quay; for when it was attacked, the Carthaginians resisted (says the historian) by missiles *both* from the quay and from it. And it must have run out into the water; for Scipio attacked it with *battering-rams*, brought on floating rafts. The term διατείχισμα seems very appropriate to it as breaking the line of the quay, especially if the redoubt were completed, and armed on its inner side as well as its outer.

fortifications. Each wall was forty-five feet high and thirty thick, strengthened by towers of double the height. The walls contained a double range of casemates, in which was stabling for 300 elephants and 4,000 horses, and barrack-room for 20,000 infantry and 4,000 cavalry, besides stores of provision for the whole. From this immense fort a line ran past "the Tongue," and bent towards the harbours. The "angle" so formed was the only low and weak part of the fortifications.*

The defence of Carthage was in many respects an anticipation of that of Sebastopol. In both cases the assailants were masters of the sea, and at first only of a few points on the land, while the besieged defended themselves by means of fortified camps established in commanding positions outside of the town. The principal of these was under the walls of Nepheris, a city high up in the mountains, to be looked for in the direction of Djebel Ksharpta, to the north-west of Carthage. It cut off all communication between Utica and the interior of the country, and served as a point on which to accumulate stores from the whole of the neighbourhood. The next most important station was one not far from Carthage, apparently on one of the hills to the west of the modern Tunis. Under its

* γωνία δὲ ἡ παρὰ τὴν γλῶσσαν ἐκ τοῦδε τοῦ τείχους ἐπὶ τοὺς λιμένας περιέκαμπτεν, ἀσθενὴς ἦν μονὴ καὶ ταπεινὴ καὶ ἠμέλητο ἐξ ἀρχῆς. Appian, viii. 95.

protection convoys of provision were constantly enabled to enter Carthage by land, passing along the narrow isthmus of less than three miles broad. On their part the Romans had also two fortified camps, one close by the root of "the Tongue,"* menacing the vulnerable point of the enemy's fortifications between the Byrsa and the harbours; the other on the isthmus, but resting on the eastern side of it.† Both were

* This either was, or was in close juxtaposition to, a naval camp (*ναύσταθμος*) like that of the Greeks in the neighbourhood of Troy, according to the description in the Iliad. In the latter case, it can hardly be doubtful that the naval camp was actually on "the Tongue."

† The position of the Roman camps is clearly marked out by the following passages. At the outbreak of hostilities the consul Manilius attacked the enemy on the land side, *ἀπὸ τῆς ἠπείρου κατὰ τὸν αὐχένα, ἐγχώσων τε τὴν τάφρον, καὶ βραχὺ ἐπιτείχισμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῇ βιασόμενος καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ τὰ ὑψηλὰ τείχη*, while at the same time Censorinus attempted to storm it from the sea at the weak angle (*κλίμακας ἔκ τε γῆς καὶ νεὼν ἐπέφερε κατὰ τὴν ἐυτελῆ τοῦ τείχους γωνίαν*). They had not expected any resistance, and after being twice repulsed by the townspeople, they began to apprehend serious consequences from Asdrubal, who had fortified a camp close in their rear (*ὄπισθεν σφῶν ὑπὲρ τὴν λίμνην οὐκ ἐκ μακροῦ διαστήματος*). Accordingly they each entrenched themselves, Censorinus on the lake under the town walls (*ἐπὶ τῆς λίμνης ὑπὸ τοῖς τείχεσι τῶν πολεμίων*), and Manilius in the isthmus (*ἐν τῷ αὐχένι τῆς ἐς τὴν ἤπειρον ὁδοῦ*, Appian, viii. 97). Censorinus then increased the breadth of the spit by a mole, and brought two enormous rams, each worked by 6,000 men, to bear on the wall. A partial breach was made, and the Romans attempted to storm, but were repulsed, and the rams destroyed (§ 98). Then came the hot weather, and Censorinus's troops began to die of fever, from being stationed on the lake, and close under very high walls, which kept off the sea-breeze. He therefore moved his camp on to the sea (*i. e.* moved further along "the Tongue," so as to get from under the lee of the high walls, and catch the sea-breeze). Then the Carthaginians in their turn took advantage of the sea-breeze, and sent fire-rafts before the wind on to his ships, which burnt the greater part of them (§ 99). For the production of this effect, the wind must have been north, or nearly so. A line drawn

supplied with provisions by sea from Utica, coming in the one instance to the western, and in the other to the eastern side of the peninsula of Carthage. Galleys also from Utica watched the mouth of the harbour of Carthage when the weather permitted; but when a strong wind blew from the sea, this became impossible, and advantage was taken of these occasions to run cargoes of provisions. Thus, in spite of the unparalleled perfidy of the Romans at the outbreak of the war, by which the Carthaginians had been induced to give up all their ships, the chances of success were for two years balanced, or, if anything, appeared rather to lie with the besieged. The Romans were baffled in every attempt to force the Carthaginian lines, and an expedition against Nepheris nearly cost the consul who undertook it the whole of his force. No ground had been gained by the assailants; and with the stores they had in their arsenal, the besieged were enabled, by the spring of the third year, to equip a new fleet, by means of which they all but succeeded in turning the tables on their assailants, who

from the western extremity of the hill of Sidi Bou-Saed to the low land below the Great Cisterns, will, I believe, towards its southern extremity, approximate to the limits of the coast, and from near there I conceive "the Tongue" to have run out westward. Between this locality and El Mersa I should search for indications of the Carthaginian harbour and its quay, the wind which enabled the besiegers to burn Censorinus's ships blowing through the gap between the hill of Sidi Bou-Saed and Djebel Gomart. That the camp of Manilius approached the *eastern* side of the isthmus appears from Appian, viii. 100.

had in the meantime become terribly demoralized. Fifty triremes, besides smaller vessels, had been built without the Romans entertaining the slightest suspicion of the matter; the new mouth of the harbour, which had been secretly cut,* was opened in the night, and when the fleet, called into existence as if by magic, sailed out, the besiegers were struck with panic. Not a ship was manned, and if the Carthaginians had at once attacked them, the whole "naval camp" of the Romans (says the historian) would have fallen into the hands of the enemy. Unfortunately, they contented themselves with merely making a demonstration, and returned into the harbour. Two days afterwards they again rowed out and offered battle, but now their enemies were prepared for them. In the action which followed, they were unsuccessful, and Scipio, who had the command of the besieging force, gave them no more breathing-time.

The Magaria at this time consisted of a kind of fauxbourg, surrounded by a wall of no great strength, and laid out in gardens intersected with hedges, and watered by artificial irrigation. Probably the Great Cisterns—which stand in the immediate neighbourhood—supplied a part of their water for this purpose

* Livy, in his account of the operation, represented the besieged as actually digging a new *port*, not merely a new mouth to the existing one. This was in one of the lost books, but the epitome of it proves the fact. See the second note on page 388.

These enormous reservoirs form now the habitation of a whole village,—Malakah. They are altogether dilapidated, and some entirely choked up, but their magnitude fills the spectator with amazement. Shaw says there are twenty of them, each of them above 100 feet long and 30 broad. I very much doubt the exactness of these numbers,* but at the same time do not believe them to be in the least exaggerated. A road passes over a portion of the reservoir, and caution is requisite to avoid some large holes in the roof, which gape in the middle of it. Indeed, the whole of this locality abounds in dangers of this kind. On a later day, in walking on the side of the hill of St. Louis, I observed several openings,

* He says that their level is lower than that of the "Small Cisterns." To me it appeared, judging by the eye, that the reverse was unquestionably the case. My belief is that the latter received their overflow, and the pipes by which this arrangement was effected have been mistaken for an apparatus to collect rain-water. I unfortunately broke my barometer before leaving Constantine, and consequently could not ascertain the variations of level—the most important of all elements in a topographical question—with any accuracy. But I have no doubt that Shaw is mistaken, and Mr. Davis, to whom I mentioned my view, informed me that it was certainly correct as to the relative elevations of the two systems. I may add, that my opinion as to the hill of Burj-Jedeed being the original Byrsa, and the ruin on it the temple of Æsculapius, was confirmed by that gentleman, who had independently come to the same conclusion. With regard to Shaw, I cannot help saying that his description of the site of Carthage is so vague, that unless I had been over the ground myself I could scarcely form a conception of what he means, and so inaccurate that it becomes necessary to suppose it written from an old recollection assisted by no notes taken on the spot or at best by very imperfect ones. And this is far from the only part of his book in which a want of exactness has excited my surprise.

which, on a slight examination, showed themselves unmistakably to be holes in the vaulted roofs of huge storehouses or cellars. The Great Cisterns are the termination of the gigantic aqueduct which brought spring-water to Carthage from the mountain of Zaghwan. All that part of the latter which is visible from the site of the town bears the stamp of wilful destruction. Huge masses of stones fixed in cement lie along the plain, showing the direction which the aqueduct followed. Its whole course, which extended for no less than fifty-two miles, may be traced; and in some places the piers and arches still stand, rising sometimes to a height of more than ninety, but generally to between fifty and sixty feet above the plain. In estimating the utility of this stupendous work, it should not be forgotten that it was probably constructed not only to supply Carthage with water, but to irrigate at least some portion of the land between its two extremities. The whole of the country between Dahkil Bashir (the promontory which forms the eastern side of the gulf of Tunis) and the lake which existed to the west of Carthage, was filled with the mansions and model farms of the Carthaginian citizens, whose passion for agriculture was equal to that of the English. But in Barbary successful cultivation implies copious irrigation; and ample as the stream might be which was poured into the cisterns at Malakah, this was only the

balance which remained after the soil for many miles had been fertilized by the precious fluid.

The French have collected a few tumulary inscriptions, and one or two others of a more interesting description, in a little garden within the inclosure of the chapel of St. Louis. Among these is a very curious one which much puzzled me, from the reiterated assertion of the *gardien* of the chapel that everything I saw had been found on the spot. It is in a fragmentary condition; but it relates to the completion of some arrangements for the water supply of the "Colonia Thysdrensis," which included the laying on the water to some private houses, under certain conditions. As Thysdrus is, according to the Itinerary, by one road 141 Roman miles and by another 155, distant from Carthage, it excited no small wonder in me that a piece of stone should be brought so great a distance. The man persisted in his assertion, and actually went so far as to point out the very spot where the block, as well as a portion of a statue (probably of Apollo, who is mentioned in the inscription as the patron-god of the colony), had to his own personal knowledge been extracted from the soil. It certainly seemed unjustifiable scepticism to doubt any longer; yet this story proved to be a gratuitous circumstantial falsehood. I was fortunate enough the same morning to fall in with Mr. Davis, who is engaged in excavations at Carthage with the assistance of the

British Government, and from him I learnt that the collection I had seen came from different parts of the Beylik. I had already had ample experience of the utterly untrustworthy character of local information proceeding from uneducated men; but I own I was unprepared for a resolute fiction, suggested by no conceivable motive—not even that of saving trouble.

I found Mr. Davis hard at work with half-a-dozen Arabs, engaged in the task of removing a mosaic which he had recently laid open in the lower floors of a dwelling-house which had apparently belonged to an ordinary citizen of the Roman town, though one well-to-do in the world. The great merchants of Punic Carthage, like the millionaires of London, had their magnificent country seats, sumptuously furnished, several miles out of the city. The discoveries now making relate, I apprehend, to a much later period, and tell the story of a class coming as little into competition with their predecessors as the shopkeepers of Genoa or Venice do with the owners of the argosies which lay in those ports four hundred years ago.* It is very natural that strong interest

* When the Romans destroyed *Punic* Carthage, they laid a solemn curse upon any future settlement that should be made either on the Byrsa or the Magaria; that is, in that quarter which if fortified would command the isthmus, and secure the harbour against the attacks of a land force. The colony which Gracchus sent out attempted to settle upon this tabooed quarter, and hence, in the opinion of the Romans, the bad luck which cut short its existence. When Augustus founded *Roman* Carthage—the town of which Pliny

should attach to everything great or small that comes from Carthage; and probably the Chancellor of the Exchequer would find some difficulty in obtaining grants of money for purely topographical investigations producing no rapid returns in the shape of accessions to the British Museum. But here, as everywhere, a large basis of action would in the end give the most profitable results. Investigations so directed as to enable the explorer to define the ground-plan of the Punic city, would guide at once to the particular points where excavations could scarcely fail to produce a far more valuable harvest than any that is likely to reward a mere "prospecting" for antiquities. I should greatly rejoice

and Strabo speak—he was particularly careful to avoid the part under ban (Appian, viii. 136). If therefore the wall of Augustus's town can be found, it will necessarily exclude the Byrsa and the Magaria. This would lead me to look for no traces of it south of Malakah, and of the hill of St. Louis. The Roman element was a very small one in the new town; for all the settlers, except 3,000, were taken from the Libyan population in the neighbourhood. In the account Procopius gives of the Vandal war, he invariably calls the inhabitants of the towns on the coast *Libyans*. They were Romans in the same sense in which St. Paul was, and strongly attached to the Roman cause; whereas the inhabitants of the interior, whom Procopius calls *Moors*, readily joined with the Vandals. The policy of Genseric was in fact to destroy the mercantile character of North Africa. The invading race became great landed proprietors on a military tenure, and the native population were conciliated by being encouraged to practice piracy on the coasts of Italy, Sicily, and Southern Greece. There is a considerable analogy between his system and that pursued by the Turks at Algiers. There the commercial Jews were oppressed as the "Libyans" were at Carthage and in the towns of Byzacium, and they hailed Bourmont as a deliverer just as the "Libyans" did Belisarius.

to find the activity and intelligence of Mr. Davis employed in carrying out more liberal instructions, than simply to dig for objects of amusement to holiday folk in England.

The account which Appian gives of the course of events in the actual storming of Carthage is very clear, and apparently likely to furnish a clue to the topographer, although it has its difficulties. During the year which preceded the arrival of Scipio to command the besieging army, the Romans seem to have entirely altered their plan of operations. The consul who commanded the camp on the isthmus employed the fine season in plundering the country, apparently giving up the idea of maintaining an effectual blockade of Carthage by land, or believing that to lay waste the country was the best means of stopping the supplies which came into the city. When Scipio arrived with his new levies, he found the army so demoralized by the way it had been employed, that he compared the camp to an assemblage of hawkers at a fair, and began his reforms by expelling an enormous multitude of sutlers and camp followers. Asdrubal, who had previously been with the fortified camp at Nepheris, was now commanding in Carthage itself; but the camp still remained with a very large force in it under another general. The other Carthaginian camp in the neighbourhood of Tunis appears to have been broken

up;* but on Scipio's arrival and encampment in the neighbourhood of the town, the besieged formed a palisaded entrenchment at a distance of five stades (half a geographical mile) from their walls, and occupied it with 6,000 foot and 1,000 horse—all picked men—to watch him.

The first blow which he struck was an attempt upon the Magaria by night. He succeeded in occupying it; but was afraid that his troops would be thrown into confusion by the obstacles which the ground within presented. He accordingly withdrew them, but his success had caused such a panic, that the Carthaginians retreated into the Byrsa. Their fears were even shared by the garrison of the entrenchment, which joined the flight of the rest, and the whole burst into the Byrsa together. In the morning Scipio immediately seized the opportunity given by this retrograde movement, burnt the palisade, and having the command of the whole isthmus, at once formed an oblong camp extending nearly across from sea to sea, the side next the town being only a bowshot from the enemy.† In the middle of this

* The object of this camp having been to secure the arrival of convoys of provisions by the way of the isthmus, it would naturally be abandoned as soon as the difficulty of getting them in ceased. Appian does not mention the breaking up of the camp; but it is implied in the fact of Asdrubal forming another entrenchment outside the walls (viii. 114).

† The width of the isthmus here was twenty-five stades: consequently, the southern wall of Punic Carthage (or a fauxbourg) must have come down quite to the narrowest part.

"a very high tower" was built, and above it again, a wooden scaffold four stories high, from the top of which Scipio could see what was going on within Carthage. The construction of these works occupied twenty days, the whole army being employed, and working night and day, under the enemy's fire. When they were at last finished, the communication by land with the town was entirely prevented.

The next step was the attempt upon the mouth of the harbour, and the quay beyond it, which has been already mentioned. The besieged repulsed the first attack upon the redoubt, but it was repeated with a different result; the quay was occupied, and a work erected upon it as high as the town wall, from which the Roman soldiers, being on equal terms with their enemies, plied their weapons successfully. This work was garrisoned with 4,000 men.

The winter now impended, and Scipio ventured on a bold move, which proved decisive. By a combined operation, himself crossing the lake with some troops, and sending another officer round it with others, he assembled a formidable force in the neighbourhood of the entrenched camp at Nepheris, threw up a work two stades from it, and left a Numidian force in this, with orders to harass the camp of the enemy incessantly. In the sequel, he succeeded in forcing the Carthaginian entrenchment under circumstances which produced a general panic; and,

after almost annihilating the army which occupied it, he captured Nepheris, at the close of a siege of twenty days in mid-winter. This exploit completed the operations which had for their object the starving Carthage out. On this capture of Nepheris and the destruction of the army, the whole of Libya soon passed over into the hands of the Romans.

Early in the spring, Scipio made an attack on the Byrsa and the Cothon.* Asdrubal, in fear that he could not defend it, "set fire to the square portion of the Cothon;" and still expecting that Scipio would attempt to get in, suffered his attention to be diverted from the "circular" part, into which Lælius, attacking it from the other side unexpectedly, forced his way. The whole wall of the Cothon was mastered; and from thence Scipio seized the *agora*, "which was near." Here he passed the night under arms. The next morning he sent for 4,000 fresh men. They came, but at once fell to plundering a temple of Apollo which stood there, and could not be induced to act against the enemy till they had secured the gold with which the image and the shrine were overlaid.

From the agora, three *narrow*† streets, "filled with

* There is nothing at all in Appian to show that there was any connexion between the Cothon and the harbour of which Scipio had attempted to block the mouth.

† στενωποί. The streets were doubtless like those described above. (Chapter II.) The Carthaginian mansions were built on the same

houses of six stories high," led up to the Byrsa, where the greater part of the troops had taken refuge. The Romans forced their way into the houses next to the agora, mounted to their tops, crossed from one side of the street to the other by planks as occasion required, and thus fought their way up.

On arriving at the Byrsa, Scipio commanded the three streets to be set on fire simultaneously, in order to throw down the houses, and obtain a sufficiently level area for military operations. This result was effected in six days and nights, the general "seeing what was going on from a high position," where he sat down when at last overcome with fatigue.

On the seventh day, some individuals came to him wearing the garb appropriate to suppliants of Æsculapius, the temple of which deity was "in the acropolis, conspicuous in appearance and rich above all others." They proposed to leave the Byrsa if only their lives were spared, and Scipio consented, excepting none but deserters from the terms. Upon this fifty thousand men, women, and children immediately passed out through a narrow opening in a redoubt; the deserters, to the number of about nine hundred, with the wife and two sons of Asdrubal, threw themselves into the temple of Æsculapius. To

type as at present in Barbary, but on a much larger scale,—of six stories instead of two or three. The "narrow streets" are the mere interval left between these houses.

the precinct (τέμενος) of this, a staircase of sixty steps led up, the remaining part of the circuit being precipitous. Consequently the small band were able to defend themselves for some time; and when hunger and fatigue diminished their numbers, they retired from the precinct into the temple itself, and mounted to the roof. Here was the end of the resistance. The deserters set the temple on fire and destroyed themselves in it, the wife of Asdrubal stabbing her two children, and casting their bodies and herself with them into the flames.

It seems impossible to doubt, from this description, that whether the hill of St. Louis is, or is not, identical with what Appian understands by the Byrsa, it was at any rate included in it. The garrison of the Magaria, and that of the palisade half a mile to the south of the town wall, retreated into the Byrsa on the occasion of Scipio's night attack. It must, therefore, have been near to the scene of his operations, and it would be useless to look for it far away to the north in the direction of Sidi Bou-Saed. But if the hill of St. Louis be identical with the Byrsa, it is difficult to conceive fifty thousand persons within its walls. The temple of Æsculapius, too, must in this view be supposed on its summit, where the chapel of St. Louis now is. But neither is there a sufficiently flat surface there for the precinct of a large temple, nor do the sides of the hill immediately below the

summit answer to the description given above. If we adopt the alternative, and suppose the hill of St. Louis to be occupied by a fortification, and to constitute a sort of citadel within the Byrsa, the key to the whole —dominating as it does the whole neighbourhood,— many difficulties will be removed. My own idea, derived from the cursory survey I was enabled to take of the locality, is, that the original acropolis, the Byrsa of the first settlers mythicised in the story of Dido, is the hill of Burj-Jedeed. As the trading factory grew into a powerful city, it would soon include the hill of St. Louis within its circuit, and then the necessity of making this the citadel becomes obvious. Hence, quite naturally, would arise that state of things which may be conceived to have existed in the flourishing times of Punic Carthage. The fortifications of the new Byrsa would include the old one, and the name be extended to the whole.* Thus the temple of Æsculapius might properly be said to be on the Byrsa (or the acropolis)—even on the hypothesis that it occupied the hill of Burj-Jedeed —not only in the wider sense of the word, but because it stood on the ground which originally had, and in common parlance very likely retained, that name.† The levelled top of Burj-Jedeed, the founda-

* Just as the "city" of Paris grew from the island on the Seine to its present dimensions.

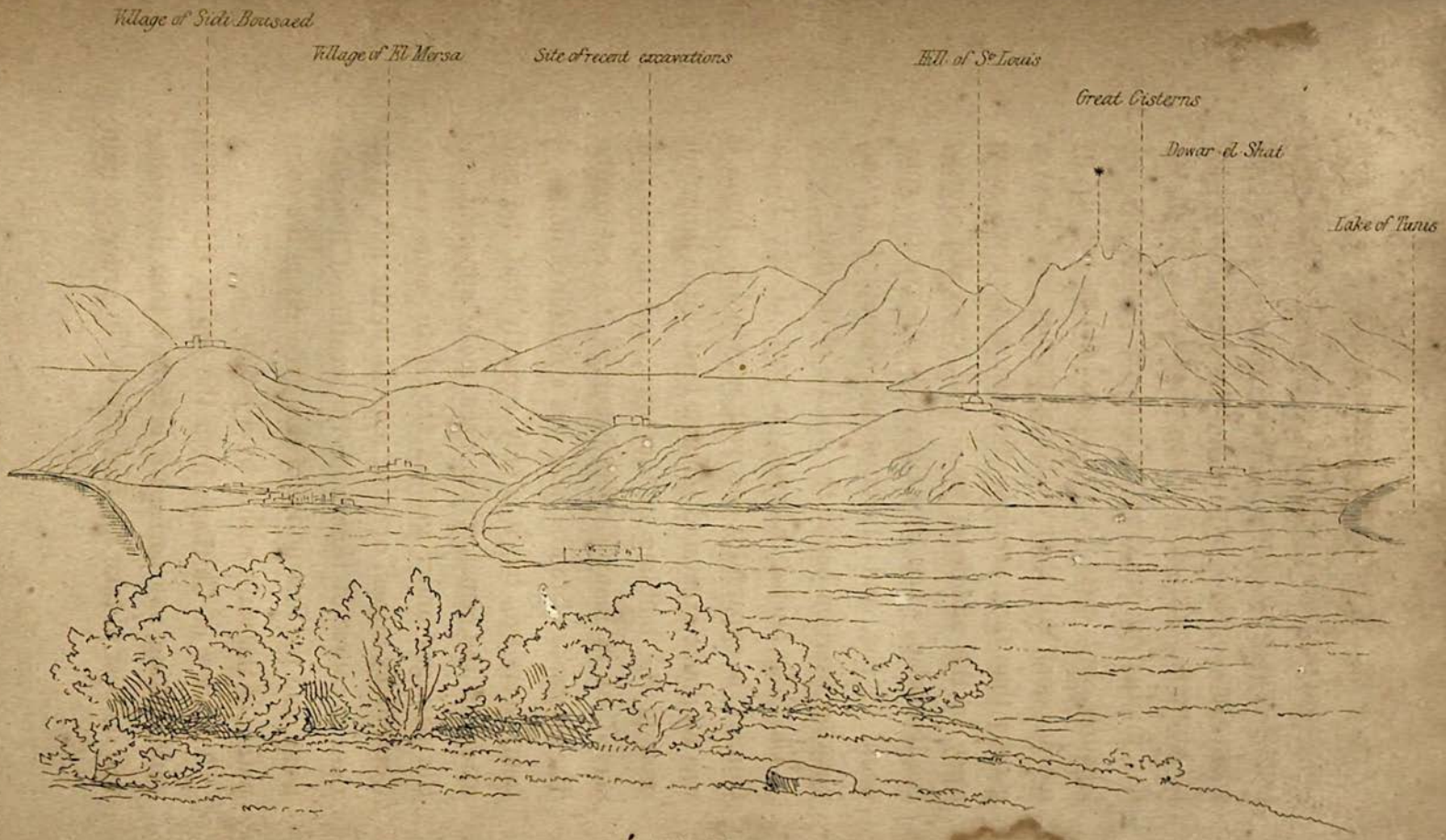
† It must be remembered that Byrsa simply means "fort," answering to the Burg, or Bury, or πύργος, or Perg-ama of the Indo-

tions of the *cella* in the middle of the area, and the steep sides (making due allowance for the accumulation of débris) fully justify the character of strength which Appian attributes to the site as a temporary position for the desperate band which seized it.

On the other hand, it was to be expected that Scipio, looking to the grand result, should direct his operations against the dominating point of the Byrsa —the hill of St. Louis. Possessing that, the reduction of the remainder of Carthage was only a question of time. Having secured this point, he might without risk yield to the demands of nature for rest; and the besieged seeing him in possession of it, had nothing left but to beg for their lives. It may be added that this is the only "high position, from which he could have a view of all that was going on."

Mr. Davis was polite enough to invite me to spend a day at his country-house, a Moorish villa in the neighbourhood of Djebel Gomart, which has been noticed above as occupying the north-west extremity of the peninsula over which the Punic Carthage was built. He has for his immediate neighbours a village of stationary Arabs, with whom he is on the best terms; and his knowledge of their language enables him to exercise an influence over them, which without

Teutonic languages. Aldermanbury, Bucklersbury, Aldgate, and Newgate are names which remain long after their original appropriateness has ceased.



SITE OF
CARTHAGE TAKEN FROM THE HILL OF THE CATACOMBS

THE HILL OF SIDI BOUSAED BEARING S.E. BY E. AND THE TWO HEADED MOUNTAIN IN DAKHILI BASHIR S. BY E. THE POINT ON THE HILL OF THE CATACOMBS IS N.E. OF TUNIS.

this accomplishment would be quite impossible. They supply him with game, chiefly quails, in return for a little gunpowder; and it is from among them that he obtains workmen for his excavations. They are not inferior in physical appearance to the English labourer, but their powers of endurance are by no means equal, and their dislike of regular work is even greater than their avarice. Sometimes they will slink away in the middle of some task, especially during the Ramadan, when they rigorously observe the command to fast, and of course are enfeebled for any vigorous exertion before the middle of the day.

The hill Djebel Khawee, a part of the Djebel Gomart, is apparently one vast necropolis. From it was no doubt excavated some at least of the limestone used in the building of the town, and the quarries served, as in many similar instances, for catacombs. The existence of tombs here was a matter of notoriety many years ago, but it is only recently that the wide extent of the cemetery has been made apparent, and the passages under ground traced to some extent. Continually a fresh opening appears in the hill, as the rains in course of time wash the weathered limestone away, and the first notice of this generally is the occupation of the vault within by a jackal.

The view of Carthage from the top of this hill is very striking, and perhaps it is from it that the visitor will do best to take his first survey, in order to gain

a general idea of the whole locality. Looking south-east by east, he will have the village of Sidi Bou-Saed on the top of a hill immediately opposite to him, with a valley intervening in which is the village El Mersa, and the Bey's country palace. A little to the left is the sea, washing the foot of Ras Sidi-Bou-Saed, called on the maps Cape Carthage. His eye, pursuing the line of high ground from the village of Sidi Bou-Saed, will, as it travels southwards, first be attracted by the white walls of a new palace on the crest of the plateau, where it is rather lower than elsewhere. At no great distance from this point it is that the excavations were made, in which the last mosaics were discovered. Proceeding still further, the attention is arrested by the hill of St. Louis with its enclosure, and the chapel rising from within. Burj-Jedeed is invisible: it lies between the elevated plateau and the sea. From the chapel of St. Louis, the plateau descends gently into the plain. Just beyond its foot (as appears to the eye) is the village Dowar es Shat, represented by a single small house, in which a gentleman resides, who is (I believe) an American—a co-operator with Mr. Davis in his researches. Almost exactly in this line comes the most picturesque mass among the mountains of the Dahkil Bashir, which form throughout a background to the plateau just described, with the gulf of Tunis intervening between the two. The notched summit of one of the peaks, which from

many parts of the plain of Tunis (and indeed from the roadstead also) stands out a most conspicuous object, bears south by east of our imaginary spectator. Just beyond Dowar es Shat stretches out the long strip of land which separates the sea from the lake of Tunis. The buildings of the Goletta appear in the middle of the bar. Turning still to the right, Tunis itself is seen to the south-west, at ten or twelve miles' distance. In the intermediate space is the flat plain, planted here and there with olive groves, and in some places sown with corn, but for the most part covered with grass rather fine than luxuriant. Along it lie the huge masses of the great aqueduct, which Sir Grenville Temple has very happily likened to the "bleached vertebræ of some gigantic serpent."

The remains of an amphitheatre are to be seen at no great distance from the cisterns of Malakah, and bearing about south south-east from them. They are not very easy to find, for the land all about is sown with cereals, and it is necessary to wade through the crop in order to reach the ruins. The amphitheatre was of small size—a circumstance which confirms the notion of the little importance of Roman Carthage during the time that gladiatorial exhibitions were popular. The shape is more than usually elliptical, and the major axis would lie between the points north by east and south by west. The edifice is so entirely ruined that the limit of the arena becomes

very difficult to define. I estimated the length and width as about eighty and fifty yards respectively; but these numbers do not pretend to accuracy. There is a considerable depression in the middle of the arena, which very probably was filled with water for the naumachiæ, or boat-fights; but it is now completely piled up with rubbish. If used for this purpose, the water would be supplied from the cisterns at Malakah. Indeed the site of the amphitheatre is, in my opinion, within the limit of the Punic Magaria, which, as has been related, was artificially irrigated; and consequently the architect of the amphitheatre very likely found a water apparatus ready to his hand.

The narrative which Procopius, likewise an eye-witness, gives of the expedition under Belisarius, indicates that a great change had taken place in the condition of Carthage. The whole nomenclature of the neighbourhood seems to have altered. Still, as the historian gives the distances with an air of careful precision, his account is valuable for the topographer. Belisarius, after landing his army at Capudia (Caput Vada) a spit forming the northern boundary of the Lesser Syrtis, marched as near as he could to the coast, in order to keep up a communication with his fleet. Thus he proceeded, through Leptis and Adrumetum, until he arrived at a place called Grassè, situated 350 stades from Carthage, where there was

a country palace and pleasure grounds of Gelimer the king of the Vandals, a marvel for the abundant irrigation, the productiveness of the fruit trees, and extent and beauty of the timber. From Grassè he proceeded towards Carthage, and on the fourth day approached a place which Procopius calls Decimus,* seventy stades from the city. Thirty-five stades short of this point, he halted and encamped.

It was at or near Decimus that Gelimer had formed the idea of crushing the invading army by a combination of movements, and the details of these furnish materials for determining its situation with tolerable accuracy. At the time Belisarius landed, he himself was with a part of his forces in the neighbourhood of Tripoli, and he followed the invaders by a route which lay more inland and debouched in this place on the one which Belisarius had taken. His brother Ammatas was to stop the enemy's advance upon Carthage by means of the force left under his command in the town. Gelimer also sent on two thousand Vandals, under Gibamund, to the left of the course which he himself pursued, to take up a position in "the plain of salt," forty stades from Decimus, and on the left hand of the road which Belisarius would have

* This is, I conceive, a corruption of the Latin, *Ad decimum* (*i.e. milliare*). The miles would be measured from some point *within* the city, but Procopius is speaking of the distance from the *walls*. Ten Roman miles would be, making this allowance, almost the same thing as the distance the author gives. (*Bell. Vandal.* i. § 17.)

to follow in advancing upon Carthage. The design of the Vandal king failed, owing to the carelessness of Ammatas and the prudence of Belisarius. The latter had sent a strong force of cavalry in advance of his columns, and likewise moved his auxiliary Huns at a considerable distance from his own left. The result was that the Huns came upon the Vandal detachment and cut them to pieces, while the advanced guard of Roman cavalry surprised the troops of Ammatas, as they arrived in small bodies from the town, and entirely defeated them. But the nature of the ground where these operations took place was such that none of the parties engaged perceived what the others were doing. The Roman cavalry were unaware of the success of the Huns, and Gelimer, when he reached Decimus, was still ignorant of the misfortunes which had happened, or of the position taken up by Belisarius. These conditions can only be satisfied by supposing that the Decimus of Procopius (which he calls a suburb* of Carthage) included the hills to the south and south-east of the modern Tunis, and that the "plain of salt" is represented by the marshy ground to the west of that town.

Gibbon, in giving his account of the invasion under Belisarius, assumes that the Roman fleet found shelter in the lake of Tunis. For this, however, he has not the authority of Procopius, nor, so far as I am aware,

* προάστειον.

of any other author. It is true that the fleet entered a lake, which then bore the Roman name "Stagnum," but if this were the same which existed in the time when Punic Carthage was captured by Scipio, it could not have been the modern lake of Tunis.* If, on the other hand, it was this, the great alteration of level which has entirely changed the face of the locality must have then already taken place,—possibly in the volcanic convulsions of which a record has been noticed in the description of Guelma. But whatever the "lake" of Procopius was, it was not used by the Vandals, or thought worth taking the pains to guard. The harbour of Vandal Carthage, which bore the name Mandracium, was closed with a chain. It seems to me likely to have been the same as that which in former days was called Cothon. It was too small to hold the Roman fleet, which would hardly have been the case with the harbour of Punic Carthage. One may perhaps suppose that this was destroyed by Scipio, and that the Cothon sufficed for the wants of the Roman town of the times of the Empire. Another suburb, or suburban village, bore the name of Aclas. It seems to have lain on the route from Carthage to the southern part of Numidia: for it was in it that

* See above, page 388. Gibbon no doubt simply followed Shaw, who tacitly assumes that the lake spoken of by Procopius (*Bell. Vand.* i. 15) must be the one he saw.

Gelimer, on his way to Carthage from the Aurès as a prisoner, found Belisarius.*

It seems at first rather singular that in the description given of the siege of Carthage by Scipio, no mention should occur of the enormous aqueduct, the ruins of which constitute at the present time so striking an object. It seems to have been cut for the first time by the Vandals, in their efforts to recover Carthage from Belisarius. This destruction took place close under the walls of the town.† But the assailants do not appear to have at all furthered their object by the step. The stores of water in the cisterns would last for a very long time; and, besides this, water may be obtained by digging in any part of the locality near the sea,—although no doubt of an inferior quality to that which was supplied by the fountains of Zaghwan. This might have been the reason why, when Scipio tried to starve the city, he did not (as it would seem) interrupt the water supply. It would have been ineffectual for his purpose; while injury to the aqueduct would have diminished the produce of the country, and weakened his own commissariat.

* Aclas is possibly a Byzantine substitute for *Pertusa*, the name given by the Antonine Itinerary to the first station from Carthage on the route which led through Sicca Veneria to Tagaste, the birthplace of St. Augustine. It is placed at fourteen Roman miles from Carthage. Tagaste may perhaps be the modern Souk-Aras. The Itinerary puts it at fifty-three miles from Hippo Regius (Bona) and fifty-seven from Sicca Veneria (El Kef).

† Procopius, *Bell. Vand.* ii. 1.

CHAPTER XIV.

A VOLUME upon the subject of Algeria can hardly be brought to a termination satisfactorily to an English reader, without some reflections upon its present and probable future value to its conquerors. This is a topic, however, which it is difficult to handle within the space which can fairly be allotted to it here. I shall not attempt, therefore, to strike a balance between the advantages and disadvantages of such a possession, but merely point out some of the most important considerations which suggested themselves to me during the period of my stay.

As a mere question of pecuniary profit or loss, there is no doubt that the cost of Algeria to France is very great. The balance of the expenses of maintaining the colony over the receipts amounted, at the end of 1847, to 775,164,202 francs. A further loss of not less than 498,000,000 francs was incurred during the next seven years. It thus appears that the outlay during the first twenty-three years of the occupation came little if at all short of £51,000,000 sterling.

Since the commencement of 1854 it is not likely that the excess of expenditure has diminished: for though the resources of the colony have increased, the public works have been pushed on with much greater vigour than ever before; and it would probably be under the mark to estimate the cost of Algeria to France up to the present moment at £60,000,000 sterling. In return for this enormous outlay may be put the fortifications and harbour of Algiers; the roads which diverge from that town, Oran, Bona, and Philippeville; the lines of electric telegraph which now connect all the military stations with one another and with Paris; works of drainage and irrigation (of which the principal are in the plain of the Metidja and the neighbourhood of Bona); and various works of utility, such as aqueducts, fountains, and lavatories for the use of the several villages which have been formed as "centres of population." To these may be added a few lighthouses, and the works by which an attempt has been made to establish some kind of substitute for a port at Oran, Arzew, Mostaganem, Dellys, and Bona. A great deal of money has been spent in works of defence, as at Maskara, Oran, Philippeville, and Bona, or in barracks for military, as at Médéah, Constantine, and Batna, to say nothing of the loopholed wall which surrounds every new settlement, although its destiny is to fall to the ground in the course of a few years. And, finally, a very large sum has been laid out in

churches, orphan refuges, and other establishments connected with the moral improvement of the colony, in hospitals, in schools both for Europeans and natives, and even in mosques and colleges for the use of the Arabs.

But amid all this outlay, it is impossible not to be struck with the very small portion which can be regarded in the light of a profitable investment. There is scarcely a single road upon which produce can be cheaply conveyed to the coast from forty miles distant, or a single port at which it can be conveniently shipped. The difficulties which have stood in the way of establishing ordinary routes, arising as they do out of the want of proper materials, must be an equal obstacle to the formation of embankments for railroads; and the configuration of the coast is most unfavourable to the construction of ports exactly at those points where they are most required. If one considers, too, the nature of the most important products of North Africa, the prospect of any advantageous commerce is not great. The tobacco of Algeria cannot compete in the open market with that of the West Indies. The cultivation of cereals has indeed increased in the last four years, having received an extraordinary stimulus from the demand for the use of the army in the Crimea during the late war; but the conclusion of this having set free the ports of the Black Sea, discourages any expectation that the im-

provement in this respect will be carried much further. The cultivation of olives, and of mulberry trees for silk, seems the most promising field for industry; but these branches of agriculture require European labour. The Arab cannot be induced to graft his olive trees, or to sort the fruit for the press, regarding any such proceeding as a contempt of the gifts of God; and, as has been several times remarked, the European, or at least the French colonist, clings obstinately to the towns on the coast, and shrinks from the hardships attendant on a settlement in the interior. Indeed, up to the present time, it may be doubted whether the number of able-bodied Europeans engaged in the cultivation of the soil throughout the whole of Algeria much (if at all) exceeds 10,000;* and of them the far greater part consists of Spaniards and Maltese. To maintain half-a-dozen soldiers for the purpose of protecting each one of these cannot but be an unprofitable transaction in a pecuniary point of view.

Even if the immigration of Europeans for the purpose of permanent settlement should greatly increase, and the problem of providing them with land without exciting the discontent of the native population should be satisfactorily solved, it appears likely that the issue of this will be to create a large population of tenants from the south of Europe cultivating the

* See the note at the end of the chapter, for the grounds of this opinion.

land of non-resident French proprietors, and gradually getting possession of it themselves. This will not be a very safe tenure for France, in the event of a general European war. The Spaniards and Maltese get on very much better than the French do with the native population, who are much more accustomed to them, and seem to have forgotten their former feuds with them under the overwhelming influence of hostility to the French invaders. In fact, by the conquest of Algeria, France has in some sort served as a conductor to draw off the hatred of the African Mahometans from the other Christian races. More than once have I found in Algeria the conventional civility of the Arab to an European change into an unmistakeable expression of goodwill, when it appeared that I was an Englishman; and in Tunis a notification of the fact at once drew forth a "Buono Inglese: non buono Francese," from the mouth of a native. It was to Tunis that the largest proportion of the Moorish emigrants from Algiers retired in the times which immediately succeeded the conquest, when the conduct of the victors was for a while characterised by a recklessness for the feelings of the conquered scarcely to be paralleled in the wars of civilised nations. This arose mainly from the extreme ignorance of the Government that planned the expedition, which was so astounded by the magnitude of a success that took it entirely by surprise, as

to be incapable either of framing a policy for itself, or deputing its powers to the General on the spot.

The Government which fell before the French invasion was indeed one of a very extraordinary character. When the empire of the Caliphs in Africa broke up, two new important centres of power arose, the one at Fez, the other in Egypt; but between these two a number of independent states grew up, of which Algiers was one. The tide of victory had now turned against the Arabian conquerors of Spain, and numbers of Moors emigrated from that country to all parts of the coast of Africa. They were received hospitably everywhere; and the habits of industry which they brought with them from Europe contributed greatly to the prosperity of their adopted country. The pure Arabian population of Africa still retained, to a great extent, the tastes and feelings of their nomad ancestors; but the emigrants had been accustomed in Spain to the settled lives of agriculturists and traders, and carried altered habits with them back to Africa. It is these emigrants, modified in character, and doubtless also in blood, by their long residence in Europe, whose descendants constitute the staple of the population in the towns of the littoral of North Africa.

This emigration of Moors commenced long before the final expulsion of the race from Andalusia; but

when that event took place, the numbers were of course considerably increased. The exiles brought with them, not only the desperate feelings of ruined men, but the bitter animosity which, for generations afterwards, never fails to cling to the descendants of all who have been made victims of religious bigotry. They spread themselves along the coast, and took revenge upon the nation which had wronged them, by acts of piracy upon all Christian traders. The crews of the ships they captured were converted into instruments for carrying on the horrible trade of the corsair. Chained to the benches of the Moorish galleys, they were compelled, by lashes, to toil at the oars until they often fell dead from exhaustion. Less able-bodied captives were sold in the market, and made available for agricultural or handicraft labour. It has been mentioned above, that a mosque which stands in the principal square of Algiers is said to have been built by a Christian architect.

But the hostility of Spain did not cease with the expulsion of the infidels from Europe. From being victims of hatred, they became objects of dread. They were followed to the African shore, where Oran, Bougie, and other points were occupied by their enemies. Among these latter was an island upon which the present lighthouse of Algiers is built. On this, which is within musket-shot of the shore, a fort was built, and a garrison left therein to harass the nest of

pirates, whose galleys had, up to that time, found shelter between the island and the main. So galling did this measure prove, that the Emir of Algiers at last resolved to call in the assistance of a renegade pirate, Haroudji Barbarossa, to rid him of his troublesome neighbours. The post was ultimately captured, but the unhappy chief, who had invited an ally, first had to learn that such a one might be worse than an enemy. He was assassinated while bathing. Haroudji succeeded him, and left the supreme power, on his death, to his brother, Kheir-eddin, who prudently secured his position by acknowledging the supremacy of the Porte, by which he was formally nominated Pacha of Algiers. This step made Algiers an integral part of the Turkish empire, and, in the state of irritation against the Christian Powers which then existed throughout the whole of Islam, was no doubt a popular one, and greatly contributed to secure the adhesion of the neighbouring provinces to the new Government. The pacha showed no want of zeal in preparations for war against the hated enemy. After obtaining possession of the Spanish fort above mentioned, he carried into execution a plan which, considering the resources of those days, may be called a gigantic one,—that of uniting the island on which the fort stood to the main by a solid pier of stone, and thus providing shelter for a much more numerous navy. This work,

which exists at the present time, and still bears the name of its projector, was executed by the hands of 30,000 Christian slaves, who were employed upon it for the space of three years.

The power of Algiers had now become extremely formidable, when the Emperor Charles V. of Spain, emboldened by the success which had crowned his efforts at Tunis, determined to attack it in person. Two Spanish armies had already perished in the attempt; and the third was no more successful than the others.

At this period, the middle of the sixteenth century, the Algerine power had assumed the same character, and extended over very much the same area, as in the time of the French invasion, three centuries later. Although nominally subject to the Porte, the Regency (as it came to be called) had grown into a military despotism, supported by a small army of Turks, whose numbers were recruited from Constantinople and other parts of the empire, especially Smyrna. It was a rule of the service, that no Moors should be introduced into it. Each company (or *oda*) was commanded by an officer called *bulcabashi* (colonel). On his entrance, the young recruit was subjected to a very strict discipline, closely confined to barracks, from which he was only allowed to go out on one day of the week, and then under the superintendance of an officer. He received two pounds of bread a-day, and

about threepence in money. But after having passed through a sort of noviciate on these hard terms, his fortunes assumed the brightest hue. He was allowed to marry, to follow a trade, or hold a civil appointment, and to live with his family free from almost all the restraints of discipline, subject only to the conditions of being ready to take service when called upon until reaching the age of fifty. His pay, and his chances of promotion, went on all the same. He often married a Moorish heiress, or became rich by commercial speculation, the commonest form of which was the taking part in fitting out corsairs,—a most profitable employment of capital, under which the Moorish merchants grew as rich as the Bristol traders of last century by the parallel occupation of fitting out vessels for the African slave-trade. There can be no doubt that the easy acquisition of wealth by this means—evidence of which appears in the costliness of the interiors of the Moorish houses in Algiers, and in the numberless villas with which the country round about is studded—operated strongly in reconciling the natives (an avaricious race) to the domination of one of the narrowest oligarchies of which history presents an example. The Turkish force in the whole of Algeria is said never at any time to have amounted to 16,000 men, and very generally to have been little more than half that number.

The children of the Turkish soldiers and the

Moorish or Christian women with whom they cohabited, were called Koulouglis. For some time they were allowed to enter the military service, but not permitted, as was the case with the pure blood, to rise to the higher ranks. Dissatisfaction at this restriction produced, in the middle of the seventeenth century, a conspiracy having for its object the expulsion of the oligarchy from the country. This was discovered before it was ripe for execution: the Koulouglis were massacred, and, from that time forward, the separation of the two classes became more marked, and the government of the military aristocracy more rigorous. Still some exceptional cases occurred of Koulouglis acquiring high positions. The last Bey of Constantine was one.

The supreme power in this singular constitution was reposed in a council of sixty, consisting of bulcabashies and other great functionaries. They elected the Regent, or *Dey*, without reference to anything else than their own opinion of his fitness. The new functionary informed the Porte of the fact, and received, in return, a firman appointing him *Pacha*, and a kaftan of honour. The council, however, possessed the right of deposition as well as of election,—a right which was often exercised, and, as might be expected in such cases, deposition was generally soon followed by death. In fact, ever since the massacre of the Koulouglis, the appointment of the Deys, like

that of the Roman emperors by the prætorian guards, assumed the character rather of a tumultuous proceeding than a legal election. Assassination was the inevitable fate of each as soon as he became unpopular, or, from accidental circumstances, found himself without funds to satisfy the demands of the Janissaries. On the occasion of the death of one Dey (in 1732), six successors were chosen, and each afterwards murdered in the course of the forenoon. The seventh contrived to keep his seat for nine years, and to die in his bed at the end of that time. This, however, was an unusually long tenure of power. Between 1808 and 1815 three Deys were strangled, and two years later a fourth,—the one under whom Algiers had to endure the bombardment by Lord Exmouth.

Criminal justice was administered within Algiers and the surrounding territory by the Dey, or his deputies, but the judges of civil suits were two kadis, the one called El Hanephi, for suits in which Turks were concerned, the other El Maleki, for those between Moors. The words Hanephi and Maleki indicate two different sects or schools of jurisprudence, to the one of which the Turks belong, and the Moors to the other. From these there was an appeal to a higher court, consisting of two Muftis, the one a Hanephi, the other a Maleki, joined with the two kadis above-mentioned; and it is a remarkable circumstance that,

in spite of the jealousy which sectarian differences generally inspire, this arrangement seems to have worked well.

Beyond the limits of the home jurisdiction, the duties of government were performed by the Beys of the three dependent provinces, Tittery (of which the capital was Médéah), Constantine, and Oran. These satraps, which were appointed by the Dey of Algiers, were responsible to him for the proper maintenance of their provinces. They had, like the Dey, a body-guard consisting of pure Turks, which were employed from time to time in overcoming any serious resistance to their authority, and every two or three years they were obliged to present themselves in person at the seat of central power, render an account of their administration, do homage to their superior, and make such presents to important officials, as are inseparable from the machinery of despotic governments. But the population of the provinces over which they were placed was of a very different kind from the Moors of the coast. The greater portion of it consisted of tribes leading a purely or principally nomad life, in exactly the same state as that in which they had issued from Arabia many centuries before. Under the Caliphate the whole of these owed obedience to the viceroy of the caliph, or Ouali, who, under the title of the Chief of Africa, resided at Kairwan, near Susa, in the beylik of Tunis. Each province was, for the

purposes of administration, divided into a certain number of Outhans (circles), and in each of these was placed a Kaid (or prefect), nominated by the Ouali. But on the decline of the Caliphate, the tribes of the Sahara relapsed at once into a condition of absolute independence, while those of the Tel, or hill country, fell into a subjection, more or less complete, to the great chiefs of Tlemçen, Bougie, and Tunis. When the Turkish domination commenced, the Beys of the several provinces took the place of the Ouali, and nominated kaids to the several outhans; but some of the more powerful tribes obtained an exemption from this arrangement, and their Sheiks, confirmed in authority by the Bey, occupied the place of the kaid in the several outhans to which they belonged. The *kaid* must not in any way be confounded with the *kadi*. The latter is the local judge who, in conjunction with the Mufti, administers justice between man and man. The former, in his origin, is the imperial tax-collector, armed with the power requisite for enabling him to execute his function. In the case of the pastoral or partially agricultural tribes, he appears in person or by deputy in the place where the weekly market is held, and receives certain dues on all merchandise, amounting to about two-and-a-half per cent. on its value.

These arrangements, which had existed long before the beginning of the Turkish rule, were maintained

by the new government.* The great bulk of the Arabs, finding no change introduced in the mode of life to which they had so long been accustomed,—the lucrative offices being still held by their co-religionists, and, where a new appointment was made, that appointment being judiciously conferred upon persons of great local influence—acquiesced readily in the supremacy of Algiers, the more so as the Turks were undeniably, at the time, the champions of their common faith in the battle-field of Europe. The conduct of the Beys towards the tribes was characterized by great forbearance and prudence. The only demand made upon them, beyond the payment of the market dues to which they had been used (the value of which was, in fact, returned to them in the shape of the additional security afforded to travelling traders), was for a subsidiary force of cavalry (the *Goum*) from time to time, to coerce some refractory tribe; and as this service always implied the plunder of the offenders, the demand was readily complied with. Occasionally, although very rarely, some severe punishment was necessary by way of example; and the Turkish body-guard of the Beys was called into action, and un-

* It is most likely the Arabian conquerors found them existing in the country. In the arrangements which Scipio made between the sons of Massinissa, one may recognise the same distinction of functions which exists at the present day. The eldest son was made (to speak in modern language) Bey of Cirta, the second, Agha (War Minister), and the third Kaid, his jurisdiction extending over all the dependencies. (Appian, viii. 106.)

sparing vengeance inflicted upon all in any way connected with the offenders. But insulated and independent of one another, as the tribes have always been except in those instances in which religion evoked a strong common feeling, these exceptional cases of severity never engendered permanent hostility towards the central power.

The very rapidity of the French successes prevented them from being acquainted with the real nature of the government which had fallen before them. Within a month from the landing of the first soldier, they found themselves installed in the stronghold of the Dey. The professed object of the invasion had only been to obtain satisfaction for an insult offered to the French consul, to put an end to the practice of piracy on the sea, and to regain certain privileges of fishing for coral on the coast of Barbary,—the real one (it has been said) was simply to strengthen Polignac's ministry by the prestige of military success. However this may be, it is certain that, when Algiers fell, not only had Bourmont no instructions what to do, but the Home Government had formed no plan. The General sent home a proposal for demolishing the fortifications and the port; and the general expectation was that the conquerors would place Algiers and its dependencies at the disposal of the Porte, and content themselves with retaining one or two points on the coast. In the meantime it was of course

necessary to establish some sort of provisional government for the city, and the expedient resorted to was, of all others, the most likely to alienate the minds of the conquered population.

The internal administration of Algiers had been, like that of the country, conducted by a hierarchy of responsible officials, each invested with nearly absolute power within the limits of his own sphere. Each different class of the urban community had its chief, responsible to a high Turkish official, the *Khasnadji*, an office which may be roughly described as uniting the functions of Home Secretary and Chancellor of the Exchequer. Every trade had its *amin* (or master), who administered its affairs and its police. These guilds consisted of even diverse races. One of them, the porters, is made up of the tribes of Biskra and its neighbouring oases. Another tribe, the Beni Mozabites, has already been described. The guild of these, domiciled at Algiers, had the monopoly of the native baths. The free negroes formed another separate community under a Kaid of their own; and even the despised Israelites had their chief, who was called, perhaps in mockery, "the king of the Jews." By this machinery the action of the central power upon the several elements of a heterogeneous population was rendered simple and effective; and the central power was now the French General. All that was required from him was to preserve the machine from

injury, and to secure his own position at the centre; and the inheritance of the Deys would have passed over unimpaired to the conquerors. Unhappily, no one knew anything about the facts of the case. M. Bourmont, heartbroken at the death of his son, shut himself up and left the work of organisation to his subordinates; and they, under the influence of one Ahmed Bouderbah, a Moor who had resided for some time in Marseilles, superseded all existing agencies by a mixed commission of Moors and Jews. Of this the adviser—a man compelled to leave France in consequence of a fraudulent bankruptcy — was made president. The immediate result was that robberies attended with violence, which had been previously unknown, began to prevail to a frightful extent. The property of the State vanished; the public archives were destroyed. Under the very eyes of the officer in charge, the French soldiers used to light their pipes with the contents of the State-Paper Office in the Kasbah. The whole country between Sidi Ferudje and Algiers was pillaged, the gardens laid waste, and the villas pulled down wantonly, or to save the trouble of collecting firewood. Duties were levied and not accounted for; the skippers of the transports helped themselves to the stores in the arsenal; the aqueducts by which Algiers was supplied with water were damaged, and the fountains failed in consequence. In short, everything went

on in the way which might be expected where an army finds itself in an enemy's country which it believes itself to be on the point of leaving for ever.

The Government of Charles X. determined to retain Bougie, and that place was accordingly occupied at the expense of some blood; but the revolution of July followed, and Bourmont, anxious for his own position, drew all his outlying forces back into Algiers. The new dynasty superseded him. His successor, General Clausel, arrived at Algiers on the 2d of September, and found the victorious army crowded in a disorganised town, hemmed in by a hostile population, and suffering much from disease and privation. Had the design of abandoning Algiers to the Sultan been persevered in, the whole result of an unexampled success would have been to excite the contempt as well as the hatred of the entire population of North Africa against France. This misfortune was indeed prevented by a more courageous policy on the part of the Orleans dynasty; but, in estimating the aggregate success of France up to the present time, it is only fair to remember that all the expense of blood and treasure which was incurred during the eighteen years succeeding the conquest, served merely to place her (and that only materially, not morally) in the position which she might have occupied in the year 1830, had her statesmen at

that time possessed half the knowledge and the talent for organization which belonged to the Outrams, Lawrences, Colvins, and the thousand other names of this and the last century to whom England owes it that her career in India has not been a parallel on a large scale to that of her great rival in Africa. Fortune gave the empire of the successors of Khair-eddin over to the Polignac ministry, as one might put a necklace of pearls into the hands of a boor. All that was wanted was to hold fast the clasp; but, instead of that, the string was wantonly cut, and the beads, rolling in every direction, have perhaps not been recovered altogether even yet.

It would be however a shallow judgment which should estimate the value of Algeria by a simple reference to the balance-sheet. As a training-school for the French army it is difficult to over-estimate its value; and that not merely in producing hardy and helpful soldiers, but in exercising those who command them in the duties of administration. The whole of the country over which the control of the French extends is subjected to a division, which has been noticed above,* into *military* and *civil* territory. With the exception of the Phaz of Algiers, and the greater portion of the Metidja, the latter only extends for a very short distance round each of the towns or principal villages. In the military

* Page 255.

territory, the commanding officer has to exercise the functions of a justice of the peace as well as the duties more peculiar to his profession; and as this system prevails over by far the larger portion of Algeria, and involves the jurisdiction over nearly two millions of Kabyles and Arabs of all degrees of civilisation, it is eminently adapted for the development of the administrative talents which, in positions of high command, are as necessary as military skill. The agency which plays the principal part in the government of the tribes is the Bureau Arabe, the originating of which, it has been above remarked, was due to the sagacity of General Lamoricière. There is a principal office of this in every province at the seat of Government, with branches in the chief place of every circle. All questions between the native population which occur in military territory are brought primarily before the members of these. If the case be a simple one, it is decided on the spot; if otherwise, it is referred, according to its nature, to the kadis of the native tribes, or to a military tribunal. Of course, in such an arrangement, absolute power must, directly or indirectly, rest with the French officers; and that this power is on the whole well employed, appears from the system working satisfactorily to the Arabs. Many of them are growing rich, and imbibing a love for the arts of peace, becoming more stationary, and sowing a greater

breadth of grain every year. A few of the principal chiefs are attached to the department, and draw salaries from the French Government, to which there is every reason to believe they are well affected. Lamoricière was so much beloved by one native chief of great influence, a marabout of Koleah, that on his death he bequeathed him an orange-garden of great celebrity in the immediate neighbourhood of that town. When the general quitted Africa, he presented this to the officers of the battalion quartered there; and it is one of the prettiest pleasure-grounds I saw in Algeria. As regards, indeed, the relations between the military and the natives, it appeared to me that there was always a consideration shown for the latter, which in time might obliterate the memory of past sufferings. The greatest difficulties in this respect arise from the low European civilians, who are too coarse to understand the feelings of the native and too lazy to learn his language.

The new constitution for Algeria will, I greatly fear, not be found to work well. Its distinctive character is to insulate each of the three provinces, and to establish a Council for each, consisting partly of Europeans and partly of native notabilities. This Council has the privilege of communicating directly with the Minister for Algeria at Paris, but in other respects is almost absolutely under the control of the Prefect of the province. It is to vote the ways and

means for meeting the provincial expenditure, but the budget itself is prepared by the prefect and the military commandant; and if the Council does not make provision for what are described as the "ordinary expenses" of the province, its acquiescence is dispensed with, and the defect supplied by the prefect, the military commandant, and the minister. Among these "ordinary expenses" is included the cost of getting in the revenue, that of the central police, and the salaries of native officials, items which, it is obvious, may be made to include the cost of pretty nearly all the machinery of Government. Even with such precautions against any independent action, —although the members of the Council are actually nominated by the Emperor,—a nervous anxiety is displayed lest the newly-constituted bodies should assert their independence. The time and the duration of their session is to be regulated by decree from Paris, and it is made penal for them to publish any address, or to communicate with the Council of either of the other provinces. But if their power is null in opposition to the wishes of the Government, it is enormous for the purpose of giving the colour of consent to them. They may vote sums of money in advance to meet possible requirements on the part of the prefect and military commandant; and they may grant concessions of public works to either companies or individuals. It is obvious that, with such pro-

visions as these, the Council can only be regarded as a machine for raising such funds as the minister may require; and that however they may mask, they cannot really check, the most extortionate exactions and the most absurd monopolies. The will of the Government is, just as before, the sole arbitrator both of the burden to be laid on the backs of the governed, and of the manner of its distribution. But if the new constitution is no nearer an approach to self-government, neither does it provide more efficient machinery for absolutism. On the contrary, it seems a return to the false system which prevailed before the discovery was made that the natives could be ruled by the agency of their existing institutions. The authority of the Sheik over his tribe, the most precious of instruments in the hands of those who know how to govern men, is avowedly sought to be destroyed. Some of the members of Council already named are Jews, a fact of itself enough to prejudice every native against the new scheme. If anything could add to the absurdity of this step, it would be the grave official announcement, that it was taken to establish the supremacy of the principle of religious toleration in the estimation of the natives. These will bow to the superior force of the Frenchman, although they hate his religion; but to set up an Israelite in a position of authority over them will be regarded simply as a gratuitous insult. One might as well attempt to increase an

English nobleman's sense of Christian brotherhood, by forcing him to dine in his own servants'-hall.

There are doubtless many who, if a fresh outbreak of the native population of Algeria should be the issue of the new constitution, will not be sorry to see the power of France weakened, and her resources exhausted in the efforts to restore tranquillity. Of that number I shall certainly not be one. Whatever crimes may have been committed, and whatever amount of suffering inflicted, in the conquest of North Africa, the present state of things is a gain to the native population, and a benefit to civilised Europe. Let our neighbours for another generation be satisfied with the possession of a well-administered dependency. Let them allow it to develop itself into a colony in the natural course of events, as security for life and property, a settled policy, and the removal of absurd restrictions, gradually attract capital, and with capital emigration across the sea. Let them patiently await the disintegration of the old institutions, which will assuredly follow in time under the influence of increased wealth and long-continued peace. To cast seed upon the waters, even though many days must pass before the harvest be reaped, is a nobler policy for a ruler, than, out of a morbid impatience for results, to sow a crop of worthless thistles.

NOTE FROM PAGE 418.

The following is a comparative view of the civil European popul tion of Algeria at the beginning of the years 1854 and 1857 :—

	1854.	1857.
French	74,558	100,407
Spaniards	36,613	41,441
Italians	7,573	9,117
Maltese	5,266	6,818
Germans	4,663	5,565
Swiss	1,656	1,747
Others	2,163	2,040
	133,192	167,135

In the former year the numbers were distributed among th provinces, as follows :—

Algiers	62,440	= 133,192
Oran	41,464	
Constantine	29,288	

Divided according to sex, they consisted of—

Men	48,467	= 133,192
Women	37,457	
Children	47,268	

Of the principal towns of Algeria, the European civil populatio was—

On the coast, in	Algiers	30,403		
„	Tenez	1,385		
„	Cherchell	1,119		
„	Dellys	471		
„	Oran	22,528		
„	Mostaganem	5,720		
„	Bona	7,740		
„	Philippeville	7,863		
„	Bougie	1,477		
			78,706	
Near the coast	Koleah	876		
„	Blidah	4,204		
			5,080	
Inland	Medeah	1,176		
„	Milianah	1,385		
„	Orleansville	998		
„	Maskara	1,705		
„	Tlemçen	2,892		
„	Constantine	2,364		
			10,520	
				94,306
In all other parts of Algeria				38,786

As in all the above-named places a considerable military force is maintained, it is only reasonable to suppose that the European population exists mainly for the purpose of ministering to their necessities, and contributes little or nothing to the products of the colony. In fact, the official return for the year 1854, puts the European population engaged in the cultivation of the soil at only 30,080 persons.

On the assumption that the same proportions held in the civil population on the 1st of January, 1857, the European inhabitants of the towns on the coast will have then been 98,311 out of the whole number of 167,135, and the population engaged in agriculture only 37,659. Deducting three-fourths of these for women and children, there remain but 9,415 active labourers or overlookers. The army in Algeria on the 1st of January, 1857, consisted of 62,865 of all ranks, which gives nearly seven soldiers for every European producer.

THE END.

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